

ETHNIC IDENTITY OF MEXICAN AMERICAN CHILDREN
IN THE POST INDUSTRIAL AGE

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Ethnic identity of Mexican American children under the current socio-political climate was studied. Mexican American children were expected to display symptoms of ethnic ambivalence and self-rejection. Using the Kenneth and Mamie Clark (1947) Brown doll/White doll experiment as a model, data were gathered using a mixed model. This approach combed features of experimental designs, survey research, and qualitative methods. Both quantitative and qualitative data were gathered from a purposive sample of 104 children and some of their parents. They were between the ages of 3 to 15, resided in northeastern Texas, and most were White ($n=70$) or Hispanics (mostly Mexican American) ($n=21$) the remainder being Asian ($n=13$). Children self-identified across ethnic lines, and treated play preference, self-identification, and attractiveness separately. Children did not reflect social stereotypes and society's hierarchy. Instead, they portrayed other ethnic groups positively. Current theoretical approaches provided argue that strong ethnic identification and cultural incorporation displayed by the children may be a result of better integration and assimilation; conversely, it may be a product of the "false consciousness" driven by a global market and the culture of individualistic consumerism. An alternative theoretical perspective argues that the apparent cultural incorporation of children was a result of the social cultural evolution of race and ethnic relations in America. Children in this study were merely showing the next stage of the evolution explaining why Mexican American ethnic identity remained strong amidst the current socio-political climate. Implications and suggestions suggest that educators and policy makers should remain vigilant in promoting and facilitating multicultural programs in schools. Parents should

play a role in promoting ethnic pride and appreciation of other cultures in order to ensure cultural incorporation. It is important for the social scientist to remain vigilant on the topic and not lose focus under the guise of greater assimilation between minorities and members of the dominant group.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Introduction

The topic of ethnic identity is multifaceted and controversial. The topic may open up old wounds to some, while to others race and ethnicity¹ can serve as an important component of a person's social identity. Considered a taboo subject to many, speaking about ethnic identity tends to evoke a sense of discomfort. There are those who believe that individuals should see past race, as "people are people." They believe that people should see themselves as Americans, not as members of different ethnic groups with different interests. To them, race and ethnicity are tools in the "politics of division." Others, however, see race and ethnicity as important components towards one's development. For one, race and ethnicity provide a sense of belonging and offer points of reference. Being proud of one's heritage is important, as culture can provide comfort and assurance during times of crisis.

How one interacts, accesses coping mechanisms, and navigates through society are important components to one's development. Yet few parents see race and ethnicity from the standpoint of their children. Not many are familiar with ethnic identity's developmental stages; much less their own children's ethnic development. Parents may have their preconceptions, but few know if their children held the same views.

¹ Race usually refers to physiognomic features and ethnicity usually refers to culture differences. While the US Bureau of the Census has made some distinctions consistent with these common references, they have acknowledged that race categories include both racial and cultural or national-origin groups. As a result they and many others have often used the terms interchangeably. This practice has been referred to as the "racialization of ethnicity," where racial categories have over saddled ethnicity. When reviewing previous literature the authors' use of race or ethnicity is maintained. Consistent with many other sources the terms race and ethnicity are often used interchangeably in this research. However in the research design reference is made to the four races in America, i.e., Whites, Asians, Hispanics, and Blacks and dolls were used to reflect the physiognomic differences commonly associated with these groups but it was assumed that important culture difference existed between these groups and subgroups within them. For example, Mexican-American was the focus within the Hispanic group as the vast majority of participants self-identified themselves and was also identified as such by the researcher.

This research examines ethnic identity through the eyes of children, their perceptions and understanding of the world. Though focus was on Mexican American children, children from other ethnic groups contributed immensely.

Statement of the Problem and Research Questions

This research studied the effects of society's racial attitudes on the minds of young children, with focus on ethnic identification. The research also attempted to discover the various ego-defenses mechanisms employed by Mexican American children in relation to their ethnic identity. As a sociologist, I had to acknowledge societal and environmental influences on the formation of one's ethnic identity, along with its effects as the individual grows older. With this in consideration, this research explored the following questions:

1. *What are the effects of the current ethnic stratification system in society on minority children today? Are the effects of the ethnic stratification system reflected in the ethnic identification of children?*

Kenneth and Mamie Clark's (1947) "Brown doll/White doll" experiment argued that this was the case, stating that years of segregation and discrimination had taken its toll on the self-esteem of young Black children. Though majority of the children identified with the Black doll, most preferred to play with and found the White doll more attractive. Replications decades thereafter confirmed that one's ethnic identity was contingent on the social political climate of the time.

2. *Is there a relationship between one's ethnic identity and the different behavioral traits mentioned by Gordon Allport (1954)?*

Gordon Allport (1954), building on the Freudian Ego-Defense Mechanism, argued that children, according to their self-esteem and sense of self-worth would either display

Extropunitive and *Intropunitive*² traits. To date, there are no known experiments that tested Allport's (1954) model.

3. *Which of the following have the most significant effect on the ethnic identification of children?*
 - i. *Do the stereotype view and formation, influenced by the larger ethnic stratification system, have an effect on one's ethnic identification?*
 - ii. *Does self-esteem have an effect on the ethnic identification of children?*

Experiments conducted to test the *stereotype threat* found that a person's performance was influenced by the fear of reinforcing the stereotype of the group one belongs to (Kunda, 2000). At the time of writing, the researcher did not locate any experiment tying stereotype formation with ethnic identity. There was a probability that this research may be the first in that direction.

Definition of Identity and Ethnic Identity

There is no widely agreed upon definition on ethnic identity. Ethnic identity, to most specialists on the topic, encompasses the ethnic component of one's social identity. Some stress self-identification, while others emphasize a sense of belonging and commitment. Most, however, agree on the sense of shared values, attitudes, and attitudes towards others as major components of ethnic identity (Phinney, 1998).

Stryker and Burke (2000), in the discussion of identity, acknowledged the variability in both its conceptual meaning and theoretical role. In Stryker and Burke's (2000) article, "The Past, Present, and Future of an Identity Theory," the authors mention three main variations in the use of the term "identity": the first refers essentially to the culture of people, drawing little distinction between one's ethnicity and identity. The second "refer to common identification

² These are terms coined by Gordon Allport (1954).

with a collectivity or social category as in social identity theory.” Finally, the third sees identity as “reference to parts of self-composed meanings” (p. 284).

The last definition suits those from the Meadian³ and symbolic interaction tradition, which places equal importance on society’s structural features and the individual’s subjective reality. To Stryker and Burke, identity theory “has evolved into two different directions: with the first emphasizing social structures, and as to how social structure influences the self and social behavior; while the other concentrating on the internal dynamics of the self-process as these affect social behavior” (2000 p. 285).

The Definition of Ethnic Ambivalence

As in the definition of ethnic identity, there is no common consensus on the definition of ethnic ambivalence. Literature on the topic refers to a love/hate relationship with one’s ethnicity. This is caused by the subordination of one’s race and ethnicity by the dominant group. Extreme forms of ethnic ambivalence involve self-rejection and denial of one’s group membership; as seen through the children of the Clark and Clark (1947) experiment. Frantz Fanon (1967) coined the term *bifurcation* to describe this phenomenon, where the individual is caught between two worlds (Fanon, 1967).

The Definition of Self-esteem

The third edition of *The Concise Dictionary of Psychology* (1998) defines self-esteem as how a person sees oneself, and as to how the person deems oneself worthy in relation to others (Statt, 1998). The term self-esteem is commonly used to refer to the positivity of one’s global self-evaluation. Individuals with high self-esteem hold themselves in high regard, and are

³ This refers to the theoretical perspective of George Herbert Mead

satisfied with their attributes and performances. In contrast, those with low self-esteem regard themselves as failures, feel useless, have little self-respect, and are dissatisfied (Kunda, 2000).

Self-esteem encompasses positive or negative attitudes towards the self. The discussion of self-esteem has two connotations; the first being that the person thinks he is “very good,” while the other connotation is that the individual feels that he or she is “good enough.” Hence, it is possible for a person to feel superior to others, while at the same time feel inadequate personally (Rosenberg, 1989).

The Definition of Stereotype and Stereotype Formation

The common definition of stereotype from a psychological perspective deals with an oversimplified perception of some aspect of the social world, which is often the basis of prejudice (Statt, 1998). Gordon Allport, in his book *The Nature of Prejudice* (1954) defines stereotypes as “an exaggerated belief associated with a category” (Allport, 1954, p. 191). From the social cognition perspective, stereotypes are viewed as “cognitive structures that contain knowledge, beliefs, and expectations about a social group” (Kunda, 2000, p. 315-316). . Group stereotypes guide expectations, and can influence characterizations of others (Kunda, 2000).

In terms of the formation and origins of stereotyping, most psychologists agree on three broad categories. The first assumes that stereotypes are “products of the prevailing culture.” The second assumes that “stereotypes are formed through deep personal needs, most notably the need to belong to one’s own group, to feel superior and justify the existing social order.” Finally, stereotypes are “part of the cognitive process of categorization and co-variation assessment” (Kunda, 2000, p. 314).

Significance of the Research

It is important to understand the psychological effects race and ethnicity has on minority children, along with other possible variables that play a part in determining one's success. The data gathered from the research should provide valuable information for educators in facilitating retention rate of minority groups that show high level of academic underachievement and drop out rates. Negative attitude towards education may be a coping mechanism employed by minorities as a response against prejudice and negative stereotyping. Instilling ethnic pride and stressing the importance of multiculturalism are possible ways of rectifying the high underachievement rate of certain minority groups.

Major Divisions of the Research

This chapter has provided a brief introduction to the study in question, along with the definitions of identity, ethnic identity, ethnic ambivalence, self-esteem, stereotype, and stereotype formation. The statement of the research problem and questions followed, along with the significance of the research.

The literature review and analytical framework, in the second chapter, covers significant past studies, relevant theoretical perspectives on ethnic identity from both the fields of psychology and sociology, analytical framework, and research hypothesis.

The third chapter, entitled Data and Methods, provides a description of the research design and the data collection process. A description of the sample follows, with the various methods of data analysis and its justifications.

Chapter 4 covers the findings of the quantitative analysis and the information the data conveys, with Chapter 5 covering the qualitative analysis. The sixth chapter summarizes the

research and its findings, and the implications of the findings for theory construction, empirical research, policy or social practices, the limitations of this study and provides implications for future research and conclusion.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

This chapter examines various literatures on ethnic identity. The first section covers significant past researches beginning with the landmark Clark and Clark (1947) Brown doll/White doll experiment, and replications thereafter. Other research relevant to ethnic identity is mentioned, along with experiments on the self fulfilling prophesy and stereotype threat.

Theoretical perspectives follow in the second section, from the fields of psychology, sociology, and post colonial writers. Theories from the psychological perspective come from four major traditions, the acculturation model, social development model, ego identity formation, and the social cognition model; while sociological theories come from the micro-interactionist tradition to critical theory of the Frankfurt School.

The third section covers colonial and post colonial writers, with the works of Albert Memmi and Frantz Fanon. Robert Blauner's internal colonization model follows, with contemporary writers like Richard Rodriguez and Cornel West wrapping up the section. The chapter concludes with a summary.

Significant Past Research

Kenneth and Mamie Clark's (1947) landmark brown doll/white doll experiment showed the importance ethnic identity on the psychological well being of young children. Of the 254 Black children who participated, 67% preferred to play with the white doll, though 66% self identified with the brown doll (Clark & Clark, 1947). The results captivated Thurgood Marshall, who used the experiment to reinforce his argument in the landmark *Brown vs. Board of*

Education (1954) Supreme Court case (Kluger, 1976). Further replications of the original Clark and Clark (1947) experiment reinforced the results (Morland, 1958).

Hraba and Grant (1970), who conducted the same experiment in 1969, found that 70% of the children interviewed preferred to play with the Black dolls. Fine and Bowers (1984), who replicated the doll experiment in the 1980s, found that 53% of Black children preferred to play with the White dolls, even though 69% self-identified with the Black dolls.

The results of the Fine and Bowers (1984) experiment suggested a retreat in Black children, consistent to that of the original Clark and Clark (1947) study. To the researchers, it was clear that the ethnic identity of children was contingent on the socio-political climate of the time. Black children identified themselves with the Black dolls when the social climate was conducive, and preferred the White dolls when conventional wisdom dictates otherwise (Fine & Bowers, 1984).

Ethnic identity was still significant during the 1990s. The results of an experiment conducted by the University of Texas Pan American on a high school class of Mexican American children showed that the children still held ethnic characteristics of their own ethnicity in low regard (Richardson, 1999). Participants were shown pictures of students cut out from a yearbook of another high school, and asked to categorize the students solely based on the pictures.

The Mexican American children showed high degree of consensus, putting half of the picture in a pile of what they considered as “cholos.”⁴ Examination by the professor and research assistants determined that the categorization was based solely on skin color (Richardson, 1999).

Martin Deutsch (1960), who conducted a series of experiments on Black children in a segregated Northern city during the early 1960s, discovered that Black children in the third grade

⁴ This is a slang term used to describe Mexican American troublemakers.

faired poorer in their academic achievements than their White counterparts. The discrepancy grew, as children got older. According to Deutsch, social stress affected one's motivation, learning, aspirations, and concepts of self because these children held their ethnic identity in low esteem. When asked to complete the sentence "When I look in the mirror.....," 20% of the Black children said, "I cry," "I am sad," and "look ugly" (Deutsch, 1960, p. 11).

On the same topic of academic performance, experiments conducted by Carol Word, Mark Zanna and Joel Cooper (1974) revealed that the concept of self-fulfilling prophecy influences one's performance. The researchers hypothesized that a person's attitudes and expectations of another influences the believer's actions. This, in turn, induces the person to behave in ways confirming the original definition.

This phenomenon was observed in schools, where the teacher's positive or negative expectations influenced the student's performance in laboratory experiments. This led to the conclusion that negative pre-conceived notions may initiate an interpersonal self-fulfilling prophecy (Word, Zanna, & Cooper, 1974).

To test the hypothesis, participants were placed in job interview settings. White job interviewers were hired for the experiment. Some interviewers were trained to violate the interviewee's space by sitting extremely close to them, and to emit negative body language. The Black interviewees received less immediacy and shorter interview time. As expected, Black applicants performed poorly and were rated similarly by the untrained White interviewers. White job interviewees, on the other hand, received positive treatment and emitted positive results (Word, Zanna, & Cooper, 1974).

Subsequent experiments conducted by Snyder, Tanke, and Berscheid (1977) reinforced the same. Unlike the experiment by Word, Zanna, and Cooper (1974), attractive and unattractive

females were used to assess whether physical attributes influenced performance. The correlation between attractiveness and the ability to interact was significant. Unattractive females received less friendly treatment, and did not perform as well as their attractive counterparts. Attractive women were received warmly and made to feel comfortable, which led to positive ratings (Snyder, Tanke, & Berscheid, 1977).

The stereotype threat, an effect of stereotyping that adversely affects the performance of those on the receiving end, was another explanation behind underperformance. Stereotype threat deals with the discomfort people feel when they are at risk of fulfilling a stereotype. If the threat is strong enough, it can interfere with one's social interaction and intellectual performance (Swim & Stangor, 1998).

Quinn and Spencer (1996), testing the stereotype threat of women's ability to perform well in math, altered the perceived diagnosticity of a math test. When women believed that the test did not reflect their mathematical abilities, they scored higher than the control group that was led to believe that their mathematical abilities were being tested (Quinn & Spencer, 1996).

When conducting the test between men and women of equal math skills, women who believed that the test did not reflect their mathematical abilities performed just as well as the men. Those who believed that the test was a diagnosis of their mathematical abilities, on the other hand, scored significantly lower than their male counterparts (Quinn & Spencer, 1996).

Using similar methods, Steel and Aronson (1995) examined the role of the stereotype threat in Black students by performing a challenging test in verbal aptitude. Half the Black and White undergraduates taking the difficult verbal test were told that the test reflected their verbal abilities. The remaining students were informed that the test was to better understand the psychology of problem solving.

Like Quinn and Spencer (1996), Blacks of the non-diagnostic group performed significantly better compared to the diagnostic group. Aronson and Salinas (1997) found parallel results with Latino students who took the Graduate Record Exam (GRE) verbal exams.

From past studies, one can see that ethnic identity is multidimensional. As race conveys social meanings (Goffman, 1963), it relays messages and expectation to others. This, in turn, dictates the behaviors of others, which reinforces the self-fulfilling prophesy according to social stereotypes.

Psychological Theoretical Perspectives on Ethnic Identity

Psychologists have referred to, modified, and discovered numerous theoretical perspectives regarding ethnic identity. As components of ethnic identity are multifaceted, it is difficult to pinpoint a theoretical perspective as comprehensive.

Psychologists tend to be eclectic in approach, combining one or two different perspectives in their theoretical analysis. Most tend to lean on four traditions: the acculturation model, social development model, ego identity formation, and the social cognition model. A discussion of the aspects of each perspective relevant to this study follows.

Acculturation Model

Because the formation of an individual's ethnic identity is contingent on the degree of assimilation, the acculturation model is a good starting point. Most psychologists agree that the formation of one's ethnic identity is contingent on one's degree of assimilation. Important facets in acculturation theory include:

1. How we are socialized

2. How we relate to the dominant society
3. Skills used to navigate, assimilate and maintain one's own values

Primary focus of the acculturation model is on how minorities relate to the dominant group (Phinney & Rotherham, 1987; Phinney, 1998).

According to the acculturation model, ethnic identity is considered an aspect of acculturation. While acculturation deals with changes in cultural attitudes, values, and behaviors resulting from contact with the dominant culture, ethnic identity deals with the sense of self and belonging (Phinney, 1998). Two models, the linear and two-dimensional models, are generally used in the explanation of ethnic identity (Phinney, 1998).

The linear model deals with the continuum from weak to strong ethnic ties. The strengthening of one culture inadvertently weakens the other. If one has strong ethnic ties with the dominant group, one's tie with one's ethnic group weakens. Hence, according to the linear model, acculturation leads to the weakening of one's ethnic ties.

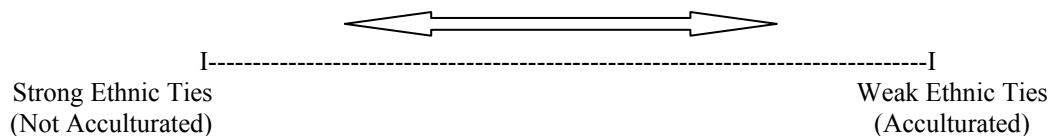


Figure 1. Acculturation linear model. (Note: The linear model argues that acculturation can only go in one direction.)

The linear model provides a logical explanation for ethnic ambivalence. Ethnic ambivalence, in this case, is the result of over acculturation, where one's ethnic ties weaken the more one gets acculturated with the dominant society.

Unlike the linear model, the two-dimension model argues that ties with one's ethnic group and the dominant society are unrelated and independent. One can have strong ties with

both groups, weak ties with both, strong on one and weak on the other at the same time (Phinney 1998).

Strong identification with both groups indicates biculturalism or integration, while identification with neither suggests marginality. Exclusive identification with the majority culture suggests assimilation, while exclusive identification with one's ethnic group suggests separation. The maintenance of one's ethnic identity over long duration of contact with the dominant group is the main issue according to the acculturation model (Phinney, 1998).

Individuals who have strong identification with both the dominant culture and one's ethnic group are acculturated, integrated, and bicultural. Those with strong identification with the dominant culture and weak identification with one's ethnic group are assimilated. Strong identification with one's ethnic group and weak identification with the majority group are ethnically identified, embedded, separated and dissociated with the dominant society. Those who live in their respective ethnic enclaves best illustrate this. As for those with weak identification with their ethnic and dominant group, they are considered marginal: those who are neither here nor there. Under the two-dimension model, those who are marginal and assimilated exhibit ethnic ambivalence. Those who are marginal are unsure of themselves, while those assimilated reject their own culture (Phinney, 1998).

The impact of psychological adjustments due to culture conflict between groups and the consequences on the individual is important. How each conflict is dealt on the individual level is part of the process of ethnic identity formation (Phinney, 1998).

The acculturation model provides reasons as to how ethnic ambivalence is possible but falls short in fully explaining the underlying causes, and as to how ethnic identity effects the development on the individual. As ethnic identity is an active process, and is achieved through

self-evaluation at various life stages (Phinney, 1987), attention is now turned on ethnic identity from a developmental perspective.

Ego Identity Formation

Erik Erikson's (1968) neo-Freudian perspective of ego identification is controversial, bridging both the psychosexual and psychosocial aspects of an individual. Modeled out of Freud's theory of psychoanalysis, Erikson bridges the micro and macro aspects of the individual's socialization and search for identification. The result is a strong emphasis on group membership and societal integration.

Identity formation, according to Erikson, includes the process of observation, which takes place on all levels of functioning. The individual judges oneself according to the perception of others⁵. This is an ongoing process; ever changing and developing, and becomes more inclusive as the individual grows with widening social circles (Erikson, 1968).

Bridging the micro and macro aspects of an individual's development, Erikson recognized that the ideological structure of the environment is a key component towards the development of the individual's ego. It is the older generation that provides antecedents to identity formation, along with technology and science. This is where the individual organize experiences according to its specific capacities and involvement (Erikson, 1968).

The ego identity is the ego within one's social identity: the style of one's individuality, which coincides with the similarity and continuity of one's meaning for significant others in the immediate community. An individual's ego identity receives strength from changing historical situations. Various crises involving the social group force the individual to make radical

⁵ This is similar to Cooley's looking glass self model, where a person shapes his or her image based on the reflection he or she gets from others.

selections. One has to readjust and realign one's actions accordingly to come to terms with one's ego identity (Erikson, 1968).

Identity is achieved through exploration and experimentation. Exploration and experimentation takes place during adolescent that leads to a decision or commitment in various areas like occupation, religion, and political orientation (Phinney 1998). Needless to say, the process is ongoing, though an identity is generally achieved by adolescence (Erikson, 1968).

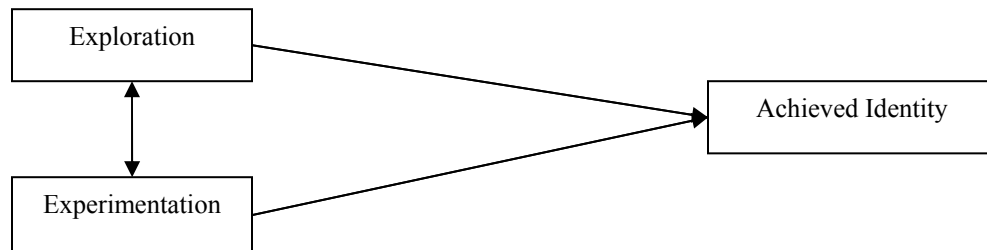


Figure 2. Erikson's (1968) theory of ego identity formation.

Erikson's ego identity formation provides an important foundation for the social development model. William Cross (1987) mentions the term ego fluidity as a possible reason as to why some children's actions are seen as ethnic ambivalence when they are not. Erikson's ego identity is called ego ideal in Cross' (1987) model, which is one of the many components in an individual's personal identity and one of the two components that make up an individual's self concept.

Social Development Model

William Cross' chapter, "A Two-Factor Theory of Black Identity: Implications for the Study of Identity Development in Minority Children" (1987), makes a distinction between

personal identity and reference group orientation when discussing the four stages in ethnic identity development. Though the essay focuses on Black identity development, Cross acknowledges that his model is generic to most minority groups (Cross, 1987).

The environment, according to the two-factor theory, plays a significant role towards the development of one's self concept. Group membership is an important determinant, as individuals rely on group membership as point of reference. The theory distinguishes personal identity with reference group orientation. According to Cross (1987), both are independent and not predictive of one another. Personal identity and reference group orientation together make up the self concept (Cross, 1987).

Reference group orientation consists of the components of racial identity, group identity, race awareness, racial ideology, race evaluation, race esteem, race image, and racial self identification. Reference group orientation takes into account the socio-political climate, and the attitude of the dominant society in relation to the group in question (Cross, 1987).

A Black child's reference group orientation during the pre Civil Rights Era is different from a Black child of the same age during the post Civil Rights Movement or a child today. Social attitudes do not remain static and changes over time. Hence, reference group orientation is fluid (Cross, 1987).

Personal identity encompasses personality types that make the individual. An individual may be an extrovert and one with high self-esteem, while another introverted with low self-esteem. Two people with similar personality types, however, may have entirely different worldviews due to different reference group orientations: as one may be a member of the dominant group while the other an ethnic minority. Personal identity, according to Cross, is an indication of a person's mental health. No matter how well a person's mental health, his or her

sense of being and meaning are still anchored with a particular group or group membership (Cross, 1987).

Applying Cross' model in explaining the ethnic ambivalence displayed by the children of the Clark and Clark experiment (1947), one can argue that the children had poor self concept due poor personal identity (high levels of anxiety, introverted, poor ego ideal, poor self worth and self confidence), and reference group orientation (poor race image, esteem, identification etc). As for the children who did not display any evidence of ethnic ambivalence, one can argue that they had strong personal identity despite of poor reference group orientation.

Cross (1987), however, cautions that behaviors manifested by children indicative of ethnic ambivalence may not be the case due to ego fluidity. Children may be experimenting with different roles, imitating and taking on the identity of others in the process. While one child may wear a cape and pretend to be Superman, a Black child may wrap a towel around her head, pretending to play the role of a White woman with long wavy hair. According to Cross, the ego identity formation is not completely formed and children are still fluid with the roles they play (Cross, 1987).

In terms of one's minority status, Cross argues that one's group membership to a minority group does not necessarily mean an automatic inferiority complex, though the stigma of being a minority may affect a person's self concept (Cross, 1987). As one's reference group orientation plays a role in one's self concept, it is important to discuss the formation of one's racial identity: a key component of one's reference group orientation.

In the discussion of an individual's development of racial identity, Cross mentions four stages in the process: pre-encounter, encounter, immersion/emersion, and internalization (Cross, 1987; Tatum, 1997; Phinney, 1998). One's racial identity is contingent to the social political

climate of the time, and one's adaptive response in relation to the larger society: placing great emphasis on the environment and the socialization of the individual in the formation of one's racial identity (Cross, 1987; Tatum, 1997; Phinney, 1998).

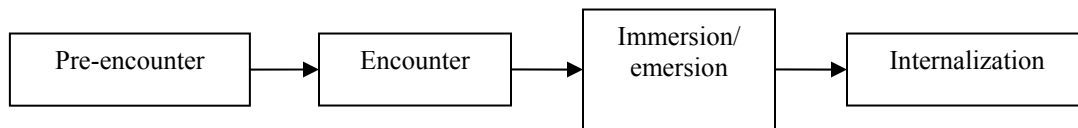


Figure 3. Cross' four stages of racial identity formation. (Adapted from Phinney, 1998, p 79.)

At the pre-encounter stage, individuals absorb the beliefs and values of the dominant culture. Images of beauty and other cultural norms are modeled from the dominant group. At this stage, the belief of dominant group superiority is evident (Cross, 1987; Tatum, 1997; Phinney, 1998).

The series of events that forces the individual to face his or her ethnicity will subsequently bring out the encounter stage. An event might expose the individual to racism and discrimination. The individual would then adjust to what it is like to be a member of the target group. Hostility towards the dominant group is present at this stage (Cross, 1987; Tatum, 1997; Phinney, 1998).

The immersion/emersion stage is a period punctuated with the strong desire to surround oneself with symbols of one's ethnicity. There is where there is a yearning to learn about one's history and culture. Hostility and anger towards the dominant group becomes irrelevant as one's major focus is on self discovery (Cross, 1987; Tatum 1997; Phinney, 1998).

The final stage, internalization, is where a relationship is established across group boundaries and is respectful of his or her new self definition. The sense of one's racial identity is

translated into ongoing action. There is a sense of commitment and a sense of positive identity (Cross, 1987; Tatum, 1997; Phinney, 1998).

Though Cross does not provide an age range for each stage, most psychologist discussing Cross' model would agree with the following. Children at the pre-encounter age would range from 3 to 12 years old. As for the encounter stage, it would be from adolescence to their late teens. People generally reach third stage immersion/emersion during their college years. The individual finally reaches internalization during adulthood. Needless to say, identity formation is fluid and changes with time (Tatum, 1997).

Cross' model of the four stages to racial formation provides the building blocks for other psychologists to develop their theory on ethnic identity. Developing on Erikson's ego identity formation, Cross breaks the development into stages that transcends throughout one's lifetime. The notable psychologist on ethnic identity, Jean Phinney (1998), breaks the developmental process into the three stages discussed in the following segment.

Jean Phinney's Development of Ethnic Identity

In Phinney's three stage progression, an individual moves from unexamined ethnic identity, ethnic identity search, and finally to achieved ethnic identity, as Figure 4 illustrates.

At the first stage, unexamined ethnic identity; the individual is yet to be exposed with ethnic identity issues. In most cases, preference leans towards the dominant culture. There are two possible subtypes as to why individuals are at this stage: diffusion and foreclosure. As for diffusion, individuals are uninterested, or may have not given ethnicity much thought. In terms of foreclosure, this may be due to lack of interest or views of oneself are based on the opinions of

others (Phinney, 1989). Though Phinney does not provide specific age ranges for each stage, one can infer that the first stage ranges from early childhood to adolescence.

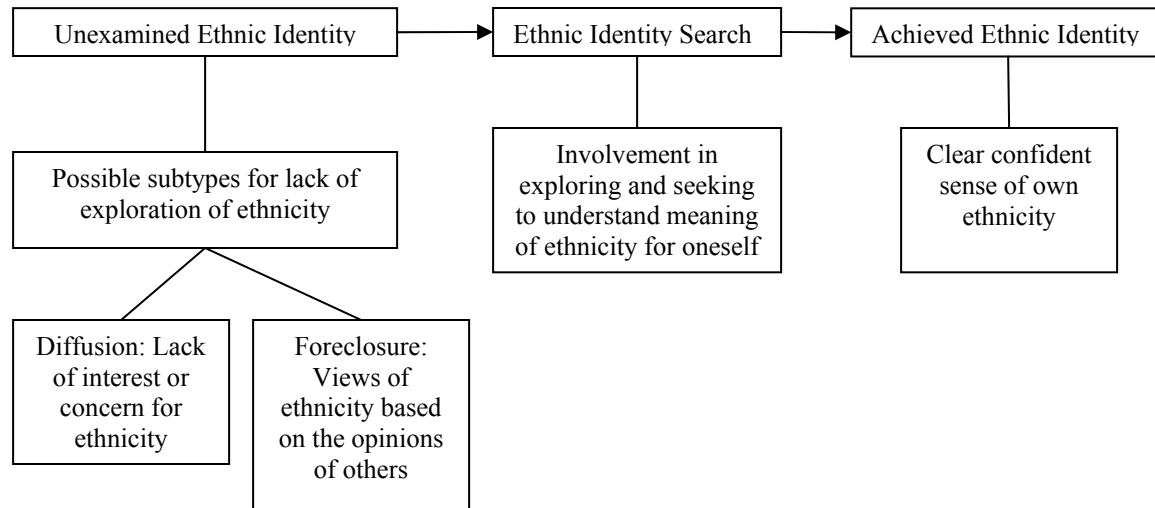


Figure 4. Phinney's (1989) ethnic identity model. (Adapted from Phinney, 1998, p. 79.)

Progression to the second stage occurs after one is confronted with a significant experience that forces them to be aware of their ethnicity. Individuals at this stage may choose to rediscover their culture, tradition, and history. Rejection of dominant culture may result for some individuals at this stage (Phinney, 1989). This most often occurs among high school or college aged individuals.

The third stage usually occurs during adulthood. The process requires the resolution of issues that confront minority groups: cultural differences with the dominant group and the status of one's group in relation to the dominant society. This is the stage where the sense of self has developed. Achievement, however, "does not necessarily mean high degree of involvement," as one may be confident of one's ethnic identity without feeling the need to maintain one's tradition

and language (Phinney, 1989, p. 80). Hence, an Asian may know he is Asian despite not speaking the language and interacting with people of similar ethnicity.

The social development model provides different stages of development of one's ethnic identity, and as to how the individual develops through various life stages. Despite providing demarcations, the social development model does not fully explain how individuals process information and make sense of the world around them. In order to address this aspect of ethnic identity, an examination of the social cognition model is necessary.

Social Cognition Model

George P. Knight, Martha E. Bernal, Camille A. Garza, and Marya K. Cota's article, "A Social Cognitive Model of Ethnic Identity and Ethnically Based Behaviors," (1998) presents a theoretical model which accounts for the acquisition of cultural relevant behavior patterns. Emphasis is placed on socio-cultural experiences, and development of cognitive abilities from a cognitive social learning perspective. The authors mentioned five variables that impact children's value based social behaviors:

1. Social ecology
2. Socialization by familial and non familial agents
3. Child's self concept
4. Cognitive abilities
5. Features of immediate context

Social ecology plays a primary role towards shaping a child's ethnic identity. Social ecology is the interplay of environmental forces, family and other socializing agents. In terms of familial background, the number of generations in the US, familial interdependence, size of the

family plays an important role in shaping a child's ethnic identity (Knight, Bernal, Garza, & Cota, 1998).

Studies have shown that the greater the number of generations in the US, the less important one's ethnic identity becomes. Likewise, the more dependent families are on one another, the preservation of one's ethnic identity becomes likely. The more Mexican Americans practice their tradition of communalism, the more likely they are to maintain their ethnic identity (Diaz-Guerrero, 1987).

The social structure of the environment plays an important role as well. Attention is paid on the ethnic and cultural and socio-economic make up of the environment. In the case of Mexican Americans, the closer one lives to the US-Mexico border, the stronger one's ethnic identity is (Diaz-Guerrero, 1987). One's ethnic identity weakens the further up north one migrates. In terms of socio-economic status, ethnic identity weakens as one climbs higher at the socio-economic ladder (Knight, Bernal, Garza, & Cota, 1998).

Socialization, as defined by the authors, is the process through which prescriptions and prohibitions are transmitted to members of a cultural group. Socialization also involves the impact of events or processes that are ongoing (Knight, Bernal, Garza, & Cota, 1998). The most significant function of socialization is the transmission of culture. Family, as the primary socializing agent, creates opportunities for children to incorporate cultural norms. In today's society, media communicates culture as well. Socialization where children can acquire social identities is grouped into four general types:

1. Direct instruction: Verbal exhortations to various appropriate and inappropriate behaviors
2. Modeling: Observation learning from significant others
3. Feedback: Rewards and punishment indicating what is accepted or not accepted

4. Other general experience: Multiple sources of experience for encoding rules regarding right behavior: media, school, peers etc.

Unlike William Cross' two factor theory, where an individual's self concept consists of personal identity and reference group orientations, those from the social cognition tradition argue that a person's self concept consists of several identities: ethnic identity, gender identity, familial identity, and school identity. Self concept, in this case is multidimensional as Figure 5 illustrates:

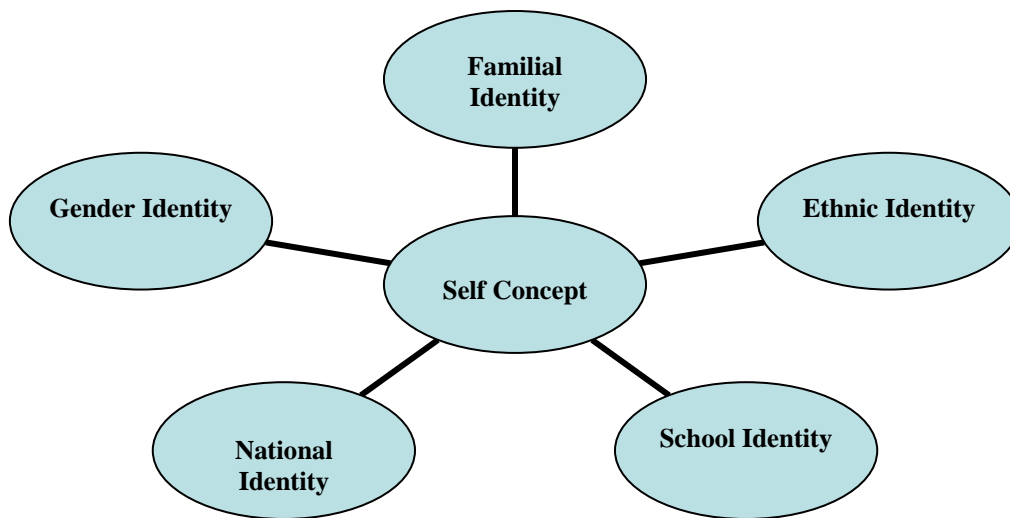


Figure 5. Multidimensional self concept.

Taking into consideration the multidimensional aspect of social concept, memory structures are composed of schemas: self theories that guide, processes information by structuring experiences, behavior. Schemas provide the framework for making interpretations of social situations encountered. Hence, in the case of gender identity, gender related schemas are activated and in ethnic identity, ethnic identity schemas are activated (Knight, Bernal, Garza, & Cota, 1998).

There are times the schemas may conflict, while at others co-exist. Conflict comes when two sets of schemas are activated at the same time. A good example of this is the schema of a

Mexican American in the face of the immigration controversy, where one's national identity and ethnic identity is activated concurrently. As to which schema would prevail would be on the political orientations the individual chooses to lean to. This, of course, may be contingent on the five variables mentioned that would impact the individual's behavior. Taking into consideration that children have multiple identities, it is important to understand under what conditions a particular identity is activated. In the case of ethnic identity, one has to discuss the term *salience of identity or salience effect*.⁶ Racial minority children are confronted with their ethnic identity more than children of the dominant group. This provides an explanation as to why White ethnics lose their ethnicity and become more assimilated quicker than racial minorities (Knight, Bernal, Garza, & Cota, 1998).

In terms of cognitive abilities, an individual's cognitive abilities are important as it helps moderate and encode the rules of socialization presented by socializing agents, as limits on information processes may limit the rate of learning. As seen in the development of minority children, complicated ethnic values are encoded at later stages of life than simple ones. Hence a child's cognitive abilities may aid and develop complex ethnic identities. Taking the entire variable into consideration, those with strong ethnic identities will reach a stage of *allocentrism*: the acceptance of and adherence to the values and attitudes of one's ethnic group (Knight, Bernal, Garza, & Cota, 1998).

Discussion so far has covered the various psychological theoretical perspectives on ethnic identity. As seen through the discussion, each perspective is enlightening, providing valuable insights, while at the same time, has its inherent weaknesses. It is important to incorporate the

⁶ This is the identity that stands out and conveys the greatest social message. As for racial minorities, their racial identity is most salient. Like in the case of a woman, her sex becomes her most salient identity (Kunda, 2000).

four different traditions in the final analysis of the research: taking an eclectic approach in explaining the final results of the study.

In the discussion of ethnic identity, it is important to find a theoretical framework to explain the various behaviors manifested by children in the Clark and Clark (1947) experiment, in particular for those who attempted to explain their blackness away. Several children mentioned that they were not Black, but instead had a dark tan. From a psychological perspective, it is important to identify and understand the various defense mechanisms employed by children in the face of adversity. Two authors stand out in the discussion of the topic: Anna Freud's (1946) ego-defense mechanisms and Gordon Allport's (1954) defense mechanisms, an extension of Anna Freud's ego-defense mechanisms.

Anna Freud's Ego-Defense Mechanisms

Anna Freud⁷ (1946), developing on her father's theory of psychoanalysis, identified ten defense mechanisms used to protect the ego. The defense mechanisms are used to relieve stress and anxiety in order to maintain a positive self image. The defense mechanisms deal with self deception and the distortion of reality, not restricted to neurotic behavior. Complementing her father's theory of psychoanalysis, Freud states that the defense mechanisms are unconscious and embedded in the subconscious. If overused, adverse effects may result (Freud, 1946). Details of each mechanism are discussed and as to how they apply to ethnic minorities. The ten defense mechanisms are as follows:

1. Denial
2. Displacement
3. Intellectualization

⁷ She was the youngest daughter of Sigmund Freud.

4. Projection
5. Rationalization
6. Reaction Formation
7. Regression
8. Repression
9. Sublimation
10. Suppression

Denial entails arguing against the cause of the anxiety. In the case of ethnic minorities, one may deny membership of a target group by changing one's accent, name, and moving out of neighborhoods that demarcates one's ethnicity. This is possible for minorities whose physiognomic features "do not betray" their ethnicity. For those whose physiognomic features are salient, they may deny group membership by claiming not to speak the language, nor practice the customs of the group in question. Assimilating to the culture of the dominant group, in this case, is the best manifestation of denial.

Displacement occurs when the individual takes his or her negative impulses against less threatening targets. In this case, the individual chooses to peck at those at the lower end of the pecking order. Members of a target group may displace their anxieties on other groups considered less desirable. Jewish immigrants, of the early 1800s, displaced their anxieties on Irish immigrants of the late 1800s, and the Irish, in turn, displaced their anxieties on newly arrived Italian immigrants of the 1930s. The same could be said about Hispanics who displaced their anxieties on Arab Americans during the post September 11, 2001, era.

Intellectualization is best illustrated when the individual tries to avoid unacceptable emotions by focusing on intellectual aspects of the situation. They focus on concepts, reasons and try to analyze the situation from a logical perspective. For example, an Asian American, who

is ambivalent of his or her ethnic identity, avoids ambivalence by attempting to intellectualize the phenomenon. He or she may spend years reading and collecting literature on ethnic identity, and focus his or her intellectual pursuits on the subject matter.

Placing unacceptable impulse onto others is the act of projection. Members of a target group, constantly accused of illegally entering the US and taking away jobs from Americans, project the same blame on other minority groups for doing the same. By projecting blame, one hopes to divert negative attention from oneself onto others who are less threatening.

Rationalization is the process of supplying logical reason to explain one's disposition. An ethnic ambivalent Mexican American Border Patrol agent may rationalize his negative treatment of Mexicans at Border Patrol checkpoints on the pretext of doing his job. Asked about his identity, he or she may self identify as an American citizen. As for the reason why the individual joined the Border Patrol, he or she may rationalize that it is the job he or she likes, wants to help people, protect our borders against smugglers etc, and not give the true reason for the choice of occupation.

In terms of reaction formation, the individual, in this case, may be a militant: manifesting the attitude opposite of what is causing the anxiety. He or she may openly display ethnic pride, attend rallies, protest against the dominant society with the hope of coming to terms with one's anxiety. Perhaps, by manifesting the "ideal behavior," one may succeed in overriding the anxiety embedded in the subconscious by eventually internalizing it.

Regression encompasses the return to a previous state of development. Using Cross' (1987) model as an example, a person who has a bad experience in the encounter stage may regress to the pre-encounter stage. He or she returns to the "age of innocence and naivety" by embracing the stage of racial identity formation that was most comfortable. Upon confronted

with race and ethnic issues, the individual takes a childlike view. When asked about the significance of race upon one's life chances in society, the individual takes on a romantic childlike view, stating that people are people, opportunities are equal for all, and that hard work and perseverance pays off. Most often, people in this category will deny that racism exist, and hold the belief that minorities put themselves into the position they are in.

Repression, the process of pulling into the unconscious, usually occurs after a traumatic experience. The bad experience is pulled into the subconscious where information can no longer be retrieved from one's consciousness. Individuals, in this case, cannot remember the experience that precipitated the anxiety. For example, individuals who report abuses at Border Patrol checkpoints, often have a hard time recalling examples and details of such incidents⁸.

In terms of sublimation, a Mexican American man, ambivalent of his own ethnicity, resents people who remind him of himself. Resenting the people who come across the border, he resolves to join the US Border Patrol. He asks for an appointment to the US-Mexico border and gives Mexicans coming across the border a hard time. He enjoys belittling and bullying illegal immigrants and does this in the name of duty. As it is not acceptable to manifest such behaviors under normal circumstance, he decides to act out his unacceptable impulses in socially acceptable ways: as a Border Patrol agent.

Suppression, the pushing into the unconscious, occurs when the individual tries to rid the anxiety by trying to forget the situation that precipitated the anxiety. He or she may avoid reminders of one's ethnicity, like ethnic enclaves, restaurants, customs, language, and tradition. Minorities suppress their identity by moving away from their ethnic enclaves, assimilating to the

⁸ This was a common feature among acquaintances of the researcher who reported abuses at Border Patrol checkpoints in West Texas.

dominant culture, have friends from the dominant group, and raise their children on dominant group norms; with the hope of forgetting their ethnic origins.

In looking at the ten defense mechanisms, one must bear in mind that they are not mutually exclusive and can be all inclusive. One may engage in more than one defense mechanism at a time. As mentioned earlier, the ego defense mechanisms are designed to deceive and distort reality, which may lead to negative consequences if overused. Individuals, who overuse defense mechanisms, may deprive themselves the opportunity of developing proper survival skills necessary to deal with the problem. Anxieties can also be manifested through phobias, depression, anxiety attacks, and various forms of obsessive-compulsive behaviors (Freud, 1946).

Frantz Fanon, a colonial writer and a psychiatrist noticed the same phenomenon with people he treated: especially those on the receiving end of the colonial mentality. He noted high levels of depression, anxieties, and high suicide rates among the colonized populace (Fanon, 1967).

Gordon Allport's (1954) Traits of Victimization

Though Anna Freud did not mention race relations in her discussion, her defense mechanisms model provided the foundation for Gordon Allport's (1954). Building on Freud's model, Allport lists and discusses 15 ego defense mechanisms employed by minorities on the receiving end of prejudice. Allport's model is race and ethnic relations specific, and provides interesting insights. Like Freud's model, the defense mechanisms are embedded in the individual's subconscious.

1. Obsessive concern
2. Denial of membership

3. Withdrawal and passivity
4. Clowning
5. Strengthening of group ties
6. Slyness and cunning
7. Identification with dominant group
8. Self hate: Aggression against own group
9. Prejudice against out-groups
10. Sympathy
11. Fighting back: Militancy
12. Enhanced striving
13. Symbolic status striving
14. Neuroticism
15. Self fulfilling prophecy

All the above-mentioned are persecution-produced traits with two important considerations. First, not all traits are unpleasant, and second, the development of any ego-defense is contingent on an individual basis. Some may handle their disposition easily, while others show a combination of both desirable and undesirable compensations. How an individual reacts to their minority-majority status is contingent on one's life circumstance (Allport, 1954).

Obsessive concern – This ego defense is one of vigilance and hypersensitivity. The basic feeling is insecurity. One is constantly burdened with the fear whether or not one would suffer humiliation when entering new and unfamiliar social situations. The racial frame of thought is fixated on every facet of social interaction.⁹ Preoccupation with the problem may proceed with

⁹ This is one reason why some minorities play the race card so easily and frivolously.

excessive lengths; to the extent that every interaction with the dominant group is viewed with suspicion. One, in this case, is constantly on guard (Allport, 1954).

Denial of membership – This is similar to Freud’s denial. For individuals who do not bear the physical characteristics of the disparaged group, denial of membership may be a viable option. People who deny their group membership are “assimilationists” by nature, and feel that all minority groups should lose their ethnic identities as quickly as possible (Allport, 1954). Excessive engagement of this ego-defense may have long term deleterious effects. Minorities who deny their allegiance may suffer conflict within themselves; feeling like a traitor of their own kind. Colonial writer and psychiatrist Franz Fanon called this “bifurcation” (Fanon, 1967).

Withdrawal and passivity – Minorities, engaging in this ego-defense mechanism, conceal their true feelings behind the façade of passive acquiescence. They hide their resentment well, and to the superficial eye appear satisfied with their disposition. The mask of contentment becomes an essential component for survival, as rebellion may be met by punishment from the dominant group. By agreeing with the adversary, the individual avoids being conspicuous, and quietly leads life in two compartments: one, which is more active, with their own, while the other passive with the dominant group (Allport, 1954).

Clowning – Members of disparaged groups may also resort to “protective clowning” as an ego defense. They may caricature their own group to the delight of others. Some may exaggerate their accent and stereotypes in order to receive good natured, though patronizing response from the dominant group (Allport, 1954).

Strengthening in-group ties – The threat of a common enemy can sometimes serve as strong cement bonding group members together. External threats may drive people to seek protective unity through common membership. Within the in-group, members can ridicule and

deride their persecutors, celebrate their heroes, holidays, festivals, and live conformably among each other. Parents can assist this phenomenon by instilling group pride and tradition in their children. This may, in turn, cancel out any sense of “inferiority” accused by outsiders (Allport, 1954).

Slyness and cunning – Slyness and cunning, through “sneaky traits,” may be a way of exerting revenge against the dominant group. Cunningness may not be confined to forms of stealing but also all sorts of pretense. One may flatter, gain favor, plays the clown, and cheapen the interaction with the interest of both survival and revenge (Allport, 1954).

Identification with dominant group – In the face of prejudice and discrimination, identification with the oppressors is the final form of adjustment. This often comes after all other forms of adjustments have failed. The individual agrees with the dominant group’s evaluation of his or her group’s apparent inferiority, and manifests such attitudes through behavior. Some may do it blatantly, while others do it unconsciously. For example, a Black individual may unconsciously accept the dominant group’s attitudes towards pigmentation, whereby lighter skinned Blacks look down upon those with darker skin pigmentation. Likewise, assimilated Mexican Americans may resent Mexican immigrants for similar reasons (Allport, 1954).

Class distinction¹⁰ among groups is an avenue for one to tear away from the responsibilities and handicap suffered by the group as a whole. Class distinction among some groups may be sharp demarcations, where income level, occupation, degree of education and color helps establish the strata. It is not difficult, in this case, for those occupying the higher strata to shift blame on their disadvantage to those of the lower strata (Allport, 1954).

Self hate: Aggression against own group – In terms of aggression against one’s own group, one may choose to discriminate against fellow members and/or treat them with hostility.

¹⁰ This is another form of identifying oneself with the dominant group.

As illustrated in Richardson's (1999) research, it was noted that Mexican American teachers tend to treat their Mexican American students harder, and sometimes displayed hostility towards them compared to their Anglo counterparts (Richardson, 1999).

Relations between group members are further strained when different modes of ego-defenses are adopted. An ingratiating Black is labeled as an "Uncle Tom," while an over assimilated Mexican American is labeled as a "vendido." Fellow members may view minorities who wish to assimilate with hostility. They may be also regarded as "stuck up" or "race traitors" (Allport, 1954, p. 153).

Prejudice against out-groups – Victims may inflict onto others what they themselves receive. With the deprivation of power, exerting one's power by projecting their disposition onto other groups in turn manifests power. "Pecked by those at a higher order, one may be like a fowl in a barnyard, pecking at those weaker than oneself or is less threatening" (Allport, 1954, p153). One can detect at least three ego defenses in this case from Freud's model: projection, sublimation, and displacement.

Sympathy – This serves as the antithesis of prejudice against out groups. Through their own trials and tribulations, their experience at times serves as a bastion for sympathy on others. Studies have shown that Jews have a lower propensity for prejudice towards minorities compared to Catholics and Protestants (Allport, 1954).

Fighting back: Militancy – Being on the receiving end constantly, some minorities choose to fight back whenever they can. From a psychological perspective, this may be the simplest response of all (Allport, 1954). This is best illustrated by the Watts riots in the 1930s and the Los Angeles riots in the early 1990s. Others who see the futility of violence, on the other hand, may choose to fight back through peaceful means. They join organizations or political

factions that pledge for the betterment of the existing social situation. It is common to see minorities prominently represented in left-winged political parties (Allport, 1954).

Enhanced striving – In response to obstacles placed by the dominant group, some choose to redouble their efforts. Compensation for such “inferiority” is the most accepted response in American culture. To some minorities, they view their “handicap” as an obstacle that can be overcome through an extra effort. Individuals who adopt such modes of adaptation may evoke grudging admiration from the dominant group. They may also be accused of being “too industrious,” “overachieving,” and “clever” (Allport, 1954, p. 157).

Symbolic status striving – In contrast with those who strive directly, there are segments of minorities who engage in conspicuous consumption to gain status. They are fond of “pomp and circumstances” and are very visible in their manifestations. Status symbols such as cars, clothes, and country club memberships are important. In the pursuit of such attention, some may live beyond their means, but the social façade takes precedence.

Striving for status symbols may also be characterized through the pretentious use of language. The use of big words may appear to lift a deprived person to a higher status. Elegant diction and fulsome vocabulary may be found among individuals who try to portray an education level that they do not possess (Allport, 1954).

Neuroticism – Inner conflict within individuals on the receiving end of prejudice and discrimination may have adverse effects on the individual’s mental health. There was evidence that the psychoneurotic rate among Jews were relatively high, while among Blacks hypertension were common. Overall, however, the mental health statuses of minorities are not greatly different from that of the general population (Allport, 1954).

Neuroticism may be due to the fact that minorities have to be constantly on their guard. Due to the constant bombardment of negative stimuli, many adopt ego-defenses mentioned in this segment. As illustrated, some modes are acceptable and successful, while others lean towards the verge of neurotic defense mechanisms (Allport, 1954).

Qualitative research conducted by Joe Feagin and Melvin Sikes (1994) highlighted the undue stress Black middle class had to endure in predominantly White public places and institutions. The stress of negotiating and renegotiations ego-defense mechanisms and the attribution ambiguity in social situations is stressful and at times depressing. The authors reported that members of the Black middle class constantly engage in psychological warfare in order to survive. Blacks have to be constantly on their guard in every interaction. Social situations, especially in non traditional Black places are like a war zones (Feagin & Sikes, 1994).

Self-fulfilling prophecy – Self-fulfilling prophecy involves the behavior that Robert Merton (1968) describes as the self fulfilling prophecy or the Thomas theorem, which states “if men describe their situations as real, they are real in their consequences” (Merton, 1968, p. 475).

Similar to Cooley’s looking glass model, individuals derive their identity through what people think they are. Hence, if a child is labeled as a natural clown, and is praised for being one, he or she will acquire the attributes of a comedian. Thus, if individuals see evil in others, they tend to provoke it. When they see others “well” on the other hand, they elicit the behavior that is expected (Allport, 1954).

Allport ascertained that not all ego defenses are visible. The ego defenses described tend to fall into two categories. One is aggressive and extraverted in nature, while the other includes introverted modes. Allport designates the first category as “extropunitive” and the second as “intropunitive” (Allport, 1954, p. 160-161).

Self-fulfilling prophecy can either be extropunitive or intropunitive. This was one point that he left unaccounted for in the categorization. Allport (1954) acknowledged that the model is not mutually exclusive due to exceptions.

An individual may show several traits, displaying both the extropunitive and intropunitive traits. Hence, the self-fulfilling prophesy may be such as example, where it can be applied to both categories. Allport's provides valuable insights on the behavior of individuals in the face of prejudice and discrimination; which reinforces some of the behavioral patterns Albert Memmi (1965) and Frantz Fanon (1963) mentioned.

Locating experiments on ethnic identity testing Freud's and Allport's model presented serious challenges. To date, no publications have been found on the topic. This research may be the first, and it would be interesting to see if the children display any evidence of the various defense mechanisms mentioned by Freud (1946) and Allport (1954). Analysis of the data from a qualitative perspective in Chapter 5 sheds some light on the subject.

Discussion of the various models on ethnic identity development and the defense mechanisms is important; as it lays foundation needed in the research's final analysis. Application of each model will be used to explain the behaviors of the children at their respective stage of ethnic identity development, social cultural factors, and the various defense mechanisms used to explain their answers and their concept of their own ethnic identity.

Sociological Theoretical Perspectives on Ethnic Identity

Selecting a suitable and comprehensive sociological theory to explain ethnic identity presented two major challenges. In the first place, few theorists have ventured into this domain. Majority of academics published on the subject were psychologists (specializing on social

psychology), social philosophers, and psychiatrists. References to sociologists like Mead and Cooley were superficial. In many ways, writing a theoretical perspective on ethnic identity was like venturing into an undiscovered country.

In the second place, ethnic identity encompasses a multiplicity of elements. One had to bridge the macro-micro aspects of society, and seek to understand how they impact the subjective realities of individuals. As socio-environmental factors play an important role in shaping one's subjective reality, attention should focus on society's structure: such as institutions, market system, politics, and culture (Phinney, 1987; Skerry, 1993).

In order to address the multi-dimensions of ethnic identity, one had to bridge together the conflict, functionalist, and the micro-interactionist traditions. Each tradition provides valuable insights, but falls short in explaining ethnic identity in its entirety. It became apparent that an eclectic approach was the only option.

There was a concern of presenting extraneous or insufficient information on each theoretical perspective. As it is easy to tangent too deeply into one perspective, only areas relevant to ethnic identity are discussed.

The orthodox Marxian model of materialistic determinism is enlightening; stressing the importance of material conditions in shaping the subjective realities of individuals. As stratification in the US is demarcated along ethnic lines, the Marxian model is relevant in the discussion of ethnic relations.

Though the Marxian model acknowledged that material conditions shape the subjective reality of individuals, emphasis is paid more on the means of production than social relationships. Max Weber's means-end rationality, pessimism towards capitalism and the "iron cage of bureaucracy" is relevant (Weber, 1978), but like the Marxian model, it fails to adequately

explain the micro aspects of society. Though both the Marxian and Weberian models have their inherent weaknesses, they laid the foundations necessary for perspectives relevant to ethnic identity.

Discussion will begin with Milton Gordon's theory of assimilation (1964), covering ethnic identity from a macro and functionalist perspective. Symbolic interaction (Cooley, 1995; Mead 1967; & Blumer 1969), will cover the micro-interactionist aspects, with Erving Goffman's dramaturgical approach addressing the various adaptive strategies individuals use in the face of adversities.

Bridging conflict, functionalism, and the micro-interactionist perspectives, Jurgen Habermas'(1984) theory of communicative action will conclude the discussion; tying the micro-macro aspects of society, while at the same time, keeping the orthodox Marxian and Weberian models alive.

Milton Gordon's Theory of Assimilation

Milton Gordon's (1964) theory of assimilation is an important starting point. Gordon mentioned four stages to his assimilation model: contact, competition, accommodation and assimilation. The degree of assimilation is contingent to the host society and the push-pull factors that propelled immigrants into the host society. The seven subtypes of assimilation are as follows:

1. Cultural or behavioral assimilation
2. Structural assimilation
3. Marital assimilation
4. Identificational assimilation
5. Attitude-receptional association

6. Behavior-receptional assimilation

7. Civic assimilation

According to Gordon (1964), structural assimilation is the “arch” of assimilation. Once structural assimilation has occurred; all other types of assimilation will follow. The price of such assimilation, however, is the disappearance of the ethnic group as a separate entity, and the evaporation of its distinctive values¹¹ (Gordon, 1964). This complements the social psychological model of linear acculturation. Gordon’s assimilation model is not a single process. Though several subtypes of assimilation were mentioned, Gordon’s main contribution was to distinguish the difference between cultural and structural assimilation.

Structural assimilation was limited to close personal associations. Richardson (1999) mentioned that Dale McLemore has expanded Gordon’s model to include all forms of integration. Structural assimilation would include integrating minority groups into cliques, personal relationships and full acceptance into economic, political and legal systems (Richardson, 1999).

In terms of accommodation, each ethnic group maintains elements of their own culture (cultural pluralism). In addition, they have their own separate institutions. Two extreme forms of structural pluralism are segregation and separatism. A less extreme form of accommodation is the minority status bestowed on some ethnic groups

To Richardson, accommodation occurs when structural barriers exist, like segregated schools, facilities, and neighborhoods. In the case of Mexican and Mexican Americans, during the early 1900s, Anglos used cultural pluralism to keep Mexican people in subjugation. The

¹¹ This phenomenon was reinforced by Chad Richardson’s research on Mexican immigrants in South Texas; where the greater the degree of assimilation, the less important it was to maintain traditional Mexican customs (Richardson, 1999).

Chicano era¹² saw a push for structural assimilation. Cultural pride and cultural pluralism were the primary means of achieving it. Bilingual education and the push for multiculturalism were manifestations of this combination (Richardson, 1999).

The penetration of Mexican Americans into the middle class, during the post Chicano era, minimized the need for cultural pluralism, as the push for structural assimilation was encouraged. For Mexican Americans, several generations removed from the initial immigration, both forms of assimilation become increasingly common (Skerry, 1993; Richardson, 1999).

Comparing Mexican and Mexican Americans in South Texas, Richardson (1999) noticed cultural differences between the two, though some similarities were present. Though social class and positions may explain the difference, it is more likely that Mexican Americans are assimilating more to the Anglo culture (Richardson 1999).

The adoption of the Anglo culture was not primary explanation for cultural assimilation. Richardson attributes market forces for the increasing similarities. Economic pressures for good education, along with the facilities available, account for this change (Richardson, 1999). Ethnic ambivalence under the assimilation model is simple. Richardson attributed ethnic ambivalence to over assimilation: assimilation to a point where individuals reject their culture for the dominant one¹³.

Charles Horton Cooley's Looking Glass Self

Charles Horton Cooley's looking glass self model is an excellent starting point, for the

¹² The Chicano movement was a separatist movement. Richardson (1999) argued that it was a movement that called for cultural pluralism and cultural pride. The basic goal was to seek equality, which Richardson equates with "structural assimilation" (Richardson, 1999, p. 240). This point was brought up to stress the application of the assimilation model on Mexican Americans. Theorists from the conflict tradition will differ with the assimilation model and the call for structural assimilation by the Chicano movement.

¹³ This reinforces the linear assimilation model from social psychology. Richardson provided this information during a telephone conversation I had with him in 1998.

discussion of ethnic identity at the micro level. According to Cooley, the “self” is created and manifested through active reference with objects and individuals through interaction (Cooley, 1995). There are three basic elements to Cooley’s model:

1. The imagination of our appearance to others
2. The imagination of the judgment of others the appearance presented
3. Some sort of self feeling such as pride or mortification

Each element plays an important role in shaping the individual’s sense of “self.” Like Alice through the looking glass, individuals see images of themselves through the reflection of others. If one’s reflection is positive, a positive sense of self develops. On the other hand, if reflection from others is negative, a negative sense of self results. To Cooley, there is no distinction between society and the individual. Though people are free to act, they have to do so in co-operation with others (Cooley, 1995).

As society is made up of numerous subsets, categories and situations, social interaction is multidimensional. Individuals must subordinate one category for another at a given time; while at the same time recognize that each category and situation is distinct from others (Cooley, 1995).

Ethnic minorities, however, do not have the luxury to subordinate one category or identity over another. Due to their physiognomic features, their ethnic identity is always salient. Ethnicity, in this case, becomes the master status, which in turn, plays a major role in steering interaction variables of others (Phinney & Rotherham, 1987).

The importance of integration and acceptance stands out in Cooley’s looking glass self model. As the development of one’s identity is contingent on the reflection of others, it is important to see a positive reflection of oneself. Otherwise, alienation and dissociation may result.

George Herbert Mead

Developing on Cooley's model, the three components of George Herbert Mead's model, the "I", "Me", and the "Self" are all by-products of social interaction. The "I" is the response of the organism to the attitude of others, while the "Me" is the organized set of attitudes of others which one assumes (Mead, 1967).

The "I" acts as the response to the attitudes of the others: the action over the social situation. The action, in turn, transfers into the individual's experience after the completion of the act. It is the "I" that provides the individual with a sense of freedom and independence, which adjusts accordingly to different social situations (Mead, 1967).

The "Me," on the other hand, constitutes the set of attitudes from others. It is what the "Generalized Other" sees of the individual. Using the Freudian expression of the "Superego," the "Me" acts as the censor: the social control over the "I." It determines what is acceptable, sets the stage, and provides cue to the individual. It is the "me" that represents the values of the social group. Taken together, the "I" and the "Me" constitute the personality (Mead, 1967).

The "Generalized Other" represents the organized community and social group, which is the embodiment of the attitude of the whole community. It is through the "Generalized Other," where the "Self" develops, taking on the attitude of the community. The individual becomes a product of the community, reflecting its values and general behavior (Mead, 1967).

According to Mead, the "Self" requires interaction, where one's self-consciousness is attained through experience. Hence, the "Self" takes on an identity through communication and understanding, employing the outer world within in order to think. The "Self" is amplified, if others take one on good light. If the opposite is true, adverse effects on the individual's concept of the "Self" may result. Mead uses the term "dissociation" to refer to individuals who are

detached and alienated from society. This, to Mead, is problematic and potentially dangerous. The sense of superiority is magnified when the “Self” identifies with groups deemed superior by the dominant society. The group legitimizes assertion of superiority and brings out values and conduct that makes one’s identity. To Mead, this is best maintained when they have a common enemy. Hence, the “Self” can only exist in definite relationship with others (Mead, 1967).

Mead, however, does not address the effects on those deemed “inferior,” and to the adverse effects it may have on those on the receiving end. Mead explains dynamics of the “us vs. them” dichotomy, but makes no provision for the effects it may have on the different subsets of society. It assumes the existence of one “Generalized Other,” and provides little to explain the dynamics of a multicultural society. It is apparent that Mead leaned strongly towards the assimilation model.

Herbert Blumer’s Symbolic Interaction

Building on both Cooley’s and Mead’s theoretical model, Herbert Blumer’s (1969) symbolic interaction rested on three premises:

1. Human beings act towards things on the basis of meanings.
2. The meanings are derived or arise out of social interaction that one has with others.
3. Meanings are handled and modified through an interpretive process used by persons dealing with the things he encounters. (Blumer, 1969, p. 2)

Meanings are social products, formed through interaction. According to Blumer, there are two ways to describe meanings: *objective* and *psychical accretion*. Objective meanings refer to concrete concepts, like a chair and table. Psychical accretions, on the other hand, are symbolic meanings derived through interaction (Blumer, 1969).

Mead failed to present a systematic statement of human group life from the standpoint of symbolic interaction. To Blumer, humans are proactive rather than reactive. Individuals define each other's actions rather than react. In order to address this weakness, Blumer added another dimension to symbolic interaction called *self indication* (Blumer 1969).

Self indication is a communicative process, where individuals note, assesses, and gives meaning to things. Decisions to act are based on meanings. Blumer believed that larger social structures, environmental pressures, external stimuli, organic drives, wishes, attitudes, feelings, ideas, and their like do not fully explain the process of self indication (Blumer, 1969).

Structural feature like culture, social systems, stratification, and social roles shape the conditions for action, but do not determine the action of individuals. Instead, it is social organizations that shape the situations in which individual acts. Self indication emphasizes that social interactions are between people and not roles they play. Humans live in a world of meaningful objects, and not in an environment of stimuli (Blumer, 1969).

Symbolic interaction establishes the foundation for the discussion of ethnic identity, though it falls short in explaining the complexities of the phenomenon in question. It shows the importance of meanings through social interaction, and as to how individuals interpret, judge and act through communication. Since communication is transmitted via gestures, sounds, symbols, and language, they form the building blocks of one's subjective reality.

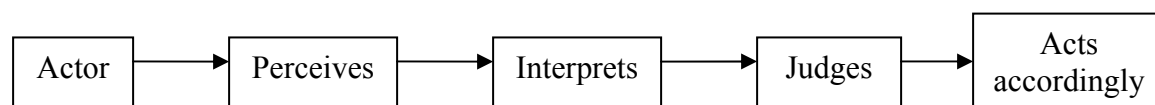


Figure 6. Action according to Blumer's model.

Figure 6 depicts actions according to Blumer's model. Social actors perceive symbols, interpret them, make judgments, and act accordingly to the judgments based on the symbolic cues. As psychical accretions are based on symbolic meanings, physiognomic features like skin color, hair texture, and facial features play an important part in steering the interaction variables of individuals. As symbols provide meanings, it inadvertently guides one's actions, as Figure 7 illustrates.

In the case of ethnic identity, physiognomic features (skin color, facial features etc.) act as a demarcation of one's ethnicity, especially when the features are different from that of the dominant society. Meanings are placed on individuals, which in turn shapes one's attitudes and actions. Symbolic Interaction is an excellent explanation for the mechanics behind prejudice and discrimination. It also explains how physiognomic features influence self-esteem of individuals.

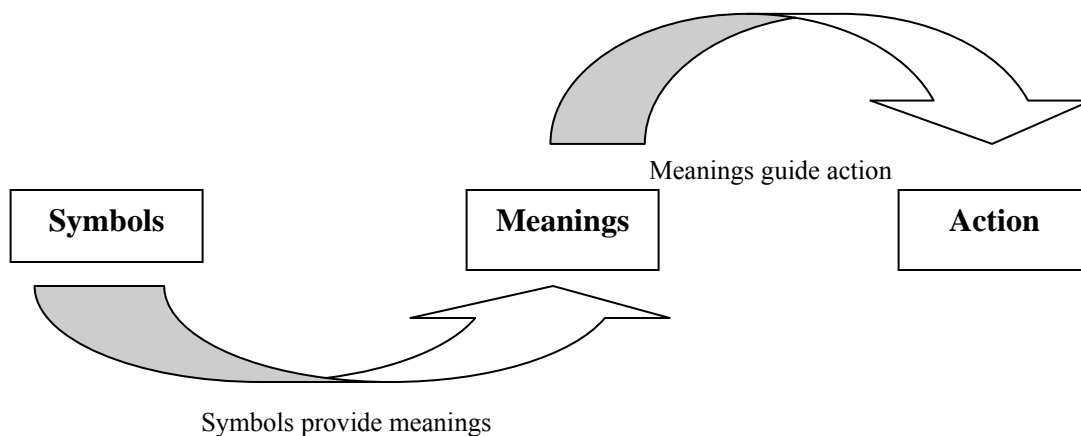


Figure 7. Action guided by symbols.

Though symbolic interaction establishes that one's subjective reality is contingent on others, it does not detail what strategies individuals adopt and use. Symbolic interaction tells us what people do, but does not adequately explain how. Furthermore, symbolic interaction tends to lean towards the assimilation model, and does not address the complexities of a multi-cultural

society. The following are some questions regarding ethnic identity in terms of symbolic interaction:

1. If language is crucial to the development of the “Self”, what happens if one’s language becomes a stigma and is not accepted by the dominant society?
2. What happens to the “Self” if one’s cultures, traditions, (all building blocks of the “Self”) are denigrated by the dominant society?
3. How do individuals react in the face of such challenges?
4. How do ethnic minorities adapt to the “Generalized Other” of their ethnic group and that of the dominant society?

In order to address the adaptive strategies of individuals, Erving Goffman’s dramaturgical approach sheds some light on the matter.

Erving Goffman’s Dramaturgical Approach

Stigma, according to Goffman (1963), refers to any attribute that is discrediting. It can be a failing or handicap, and comes from three sources:

1. Physical deformities
2. Blemishes on individual character, such as homosexuality
3. The stigma of race, nation, or religion

Society constructs stigma theories explaining the inferiority of stigmatized and the danger they represent. Like prestige symbols, stigmas convey social meanings. As a result, stigmatized individuals are not treated on an equal basis. Varieties of discrimination are exercised, which undermines the life chances of those on the receiving end. Goffman (1963) poses two questions:

1. How do stigmatized individual respond to their stigma?
2. What adaptive mechanism, if any, is used to respond to the situation?

From the perspective of ethnic identity, three adaptive strategies stand out:

1. Normification
2. Normalization
3. Disidentifiers (Passing)

Normification occurs when the stigmatized individuals act normal in social situations. They make no secret of their stigma, openly acknowledge their disposition, and chose to move forward; with the hope that others would do the same.

Normalization, on the other hand, deals with the conscious effort to correct the stigma. Some may choose to engage in plastic surgery to correct the “problem.” Physical features like the shape of one’s nose, eyes, skin tone are corrected into order to make one more “acceptable.” Removing symbols of inferiority, in this case, is the solution to the problem.

Disidentifiers involve concealing crucial information. People who “pass” may engage in normalization, but “passing” involves a multiplicity of elements. Passing involves changing one’s accent and in the context of the US, speaks proper English to disguise one’s heritage. Blacks may refuse to speak Ebonics, Hispanics refusing to speak Spanish, or refusing to roll their R’s, and Asians refusing to acknowledge their native language and country of origin. Goffman (1963) mentioned six stages of the passing cycle as Figure 8 illustrates.

According to the model, the passer initially starts passing without realizing it, and learns about it midstream in life. One may continue for the sake of one’s amusement, and passing transcends into areas outside one’s social circles (non social routines). The charade, from this stage, gets more complicated as dropping one’s mask becomes costly. Passing now transcends to work areas and daily routines. Ritual passing after this stage becomes a fact of life.

For example, a nouveau riche attempts to mask his humble background by speaking proper English in social situations. He renounces people who reminds him of himself, and tries

desperately to distance himself. He moves to a rich suburb, joins clubs, and becomes the embodiment of the upper class.

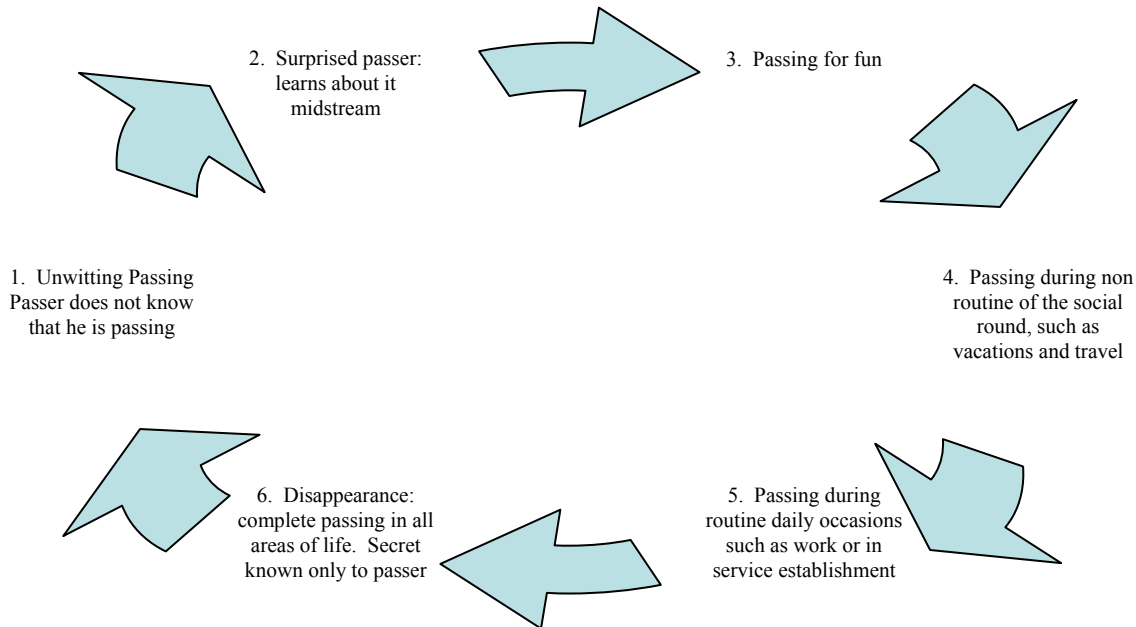


Figure 8. The passing cycle.

Mistakes, slips, and revelations may serve to blow his cover. High levels of anxiety result due to the fact that there is a constant fear that his foundation may collapse at any time: destroying the identity he tries to project to others. The potential of losing his newly acquired social circles and status is constant, and he is always on his guard: like a Jew trying to pass for a German during the Jewish Holocaust. Goffman (1963) uses the term “In-deeper-ism” to describe the pressures of elaborating a lie in order to prevent disclosure.

The stress attributed to living a lie tears the individual between two attachments: the stigmatized world and those of the “normals.” Any change in equilibrium, resulting in new contingencies, forces the individual to anchor and adjust accordingly. The stigmatized suffers the Cinderella syndrome in the process. Like Cinderella, the ball will end, the carriage will turn back

into a pumpkin, and the beautiful dress will turn into rags. In short, the person literally lives life on a short leash (Goffman, 1963).

The self is made up of two components: *ego identity* and *felt identity*. Ego identity is the subjective sense of the individual's situation and continuity, while felt identity is the character an individual obtains as a result of his or her own experiences (Goffman, 1963). A criminal, using an alias in a different community, detaches from his or her felt identity, but retains the ego identity. It is the ego identity that remains constant.

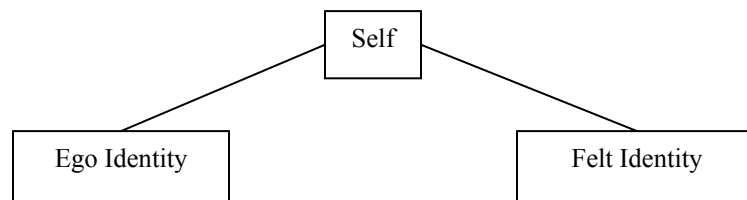


Figure 9. Goffman's components of the self.

Goffman (1963) introduces another term, *biography*, which is the individual's personal history. One's biography, in turn, consists of two types of identity: personal identity and social identity.

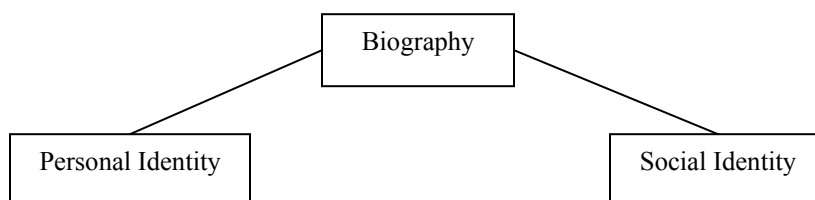


Figure 10. Goffman's components of an individual's identity.

Social identity is the identity seen by society, equivalent to the "Me" in Mead's model. Personal identity is the identity seen by the individual, equivalent to the "I." Relocation

reestablishes a person's personal biography, as one is able start anew and re-establishes one's history in a new environment. A person may have multiple personal biographies (Goffman, 1963).

As we can see, one can equate personal identity with ego identity, and social identity with felt identity. Biography, however, is not the same as the "Self" as the "Self" can have multiple biographies according to different group alignments, and affiliations. To each group, each biography has its own history and uniqueness, which evolved from each respective social interaction (Goffman, 1963).

The key question is how one aligns oneself with the various biographies associated with each group. The pressure can be horrendous and ambivalence can result. Ambivalence, according to Goffman's (1963), results when an individual can neither embrace nor let the group go. The more allied one is with "normals," the more likely one sees oneself in non stereotypic terms, though the opposite may be true. Affiliations may come in cycles where oscillations may occur in the individual's support, identification, and participation among his own group.

Goffman (1963) provides the several avenues an individual can take to alleviate ambivalence caused by stigma. The two main adaptive responses are *in group alignments* and *out group alignments*.

In group alignment entails militancy, where one identifies with one's own group. Goffman (1963) terms in group members as *sympathetic others*: people who share the same stigma. This is where the stigmatized fight for their rights, and illustrate the unique contributions the group has offered or can offer to society. The Civil Rights Movement is an excellent example of this phenomenon.

Goffman's (1963) out group alignment does not necessarily mean self-rejection and

denial. Though the individual may choose to align with “normals,” there is no denial of one’s stigma as normalization has occurred. The individual, in this case, acknowledges the stigma but chooses to act normally. The stigmatized individual acquires skills in dealing in mixed social situations, and at times helps others in the interaction.

For example, American college students may speak slowly with international students thinking that their comprehension of the language may not be good. This is where the international student tactfully asks the American to speak normally. In social situations like these, the stigmatized person helps reduce tension with the “normals.”

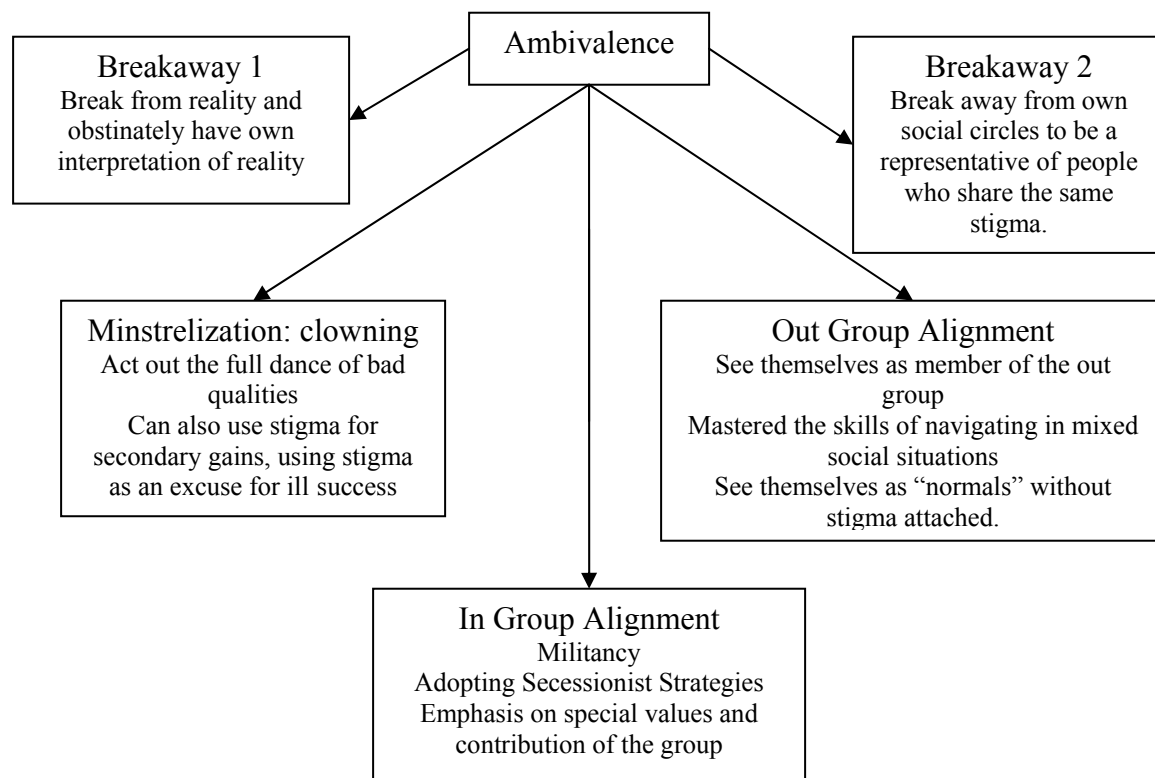


Figure 11. Goffman’s adaptive responses to ambivalence due to stigma.

Other methods of adaptation include detaching oneself from reality (Breakaway 1), and breaking away from one’s social circles to be a representative of the people who share the same stigma (Breakaway 2). People in the first category either tear themselves from the rest of society

and construct their own reality, or define their situations with others differently. Those in the second category are like evangelists with a cause. They see their mission as a vocation, and dedicate their lives in helping those suffering the same disposition.

“Minstrelization” or clowning¹⁴ is the most interesting of all adaptive strategies. Individuals, in this case, exploit their “bad qualities” for their own gain. A person, on a wheelchair, takes advantage of his or her disposition by not lining up at airports, amusement parks, and assumes assistance and sympathy from others.¹⁵ A woman uses her femininity to her advantage in social situations,¹⁶ or ethnic minorities¹⁷ playing the race card to get ahead are some examples. If things do not go their way, their stigma is used to account for their failure. Stigma, in this case, becomes a leverage to get ahead, and/or a cushion to soften the fall when things go wrong.

Goffman (1963) calls the adaptive responses and adjustments *moral career*. It is both the cause and effect of commitments to sequences of personal adjustments over time. One part of socialization involves the process where the stigmatized person learns and incorporates the standpoint of “normals”: acquiring the identity beliefs of the wider society and a general idea of what it would like to be to possess a particular stigma. The other part is when the individual learns that he or she possess a particular stigma and the consequences of possessing it (Goffman, 1963).

In terms of ethnic identification, Goffman’s (1963) dramaturgical approach complements the symbolic interaction perspective by providing adaptive strategies for the preservation of the

¹⁴ Goffman’s (1963) “clowning” is different from Allport’s (1954). Unlike Allport’s (1954) model, Goffman’s “clowning” does not seek for patronizing approval. Instead, it takes full advantage of one’s stigma over others.

¹⁵ This is a common phenomenon at Disney World and Universal Studios at Orlando, FL. It has come to a point where “normals” rent or bring wheelchairs in order to avoid long lines.

¹⁶ The woman may insist that men open doors for her etc, or play the “dumb blonde” or the “helpless woman” at work to get out of a tight situation.

¹⁷ Some people would describe individuals in this category as “ethnic entrepreneurs”: those who use their race for their own gain. They will play the race card without hesitation to get their way.

“Self.” Both symbolic interaction and the dramaturgical approach fall short in bridging the micro-macro aspects of society, as emphasis is on the micro level. Though the “Generalized Other” serves as a reference point for individuals, Mead does not give adequate consideration to the external factors that influence the actual course of development: like the constraints from material reproduction and action orientations of individuals. Furthermore, Goffman’s (1963) dramaturgical model does not adequately provide explanations for non-conformative behaviors. According to Jurgen Habermas (1984), Goffman assumes legitimately regulated interpersonal relations as social fact and presupposes the internal and external worlds.

Jurgen Habermas’ Theory of Communicative Action

The alignment of different subjective realities and different *lifeworlds* of individuals are important facets in the discussion of ethnic identity. In terms of ethnic identity, one can argue that ethnicity plays a pivotal role in the formation of the lifeworld. With ethnic groups experiencing different structural, cultural, and market barriers, it is logical to conclude that the lifeworld of ethnic minorities are different. With different individuals of different ethnicities possessing different lifeworlds, the misalignment of lifeworlds is a possible explanation for ethnic ambivalence.

Communicative action deals with the incorporation of other’s interpretation of a situation into one’s own, so that divergent definitions of the situation are brought together to coincide. It requires interpretation to be rational with the alignment of different subjective realities. Problems result when different subjective realities are not aligned (Habermas, 1984).

Like the Parsonian¹⁸ model, society consists of systems and subsystems, with purposive actions effectively coordinated and interlocking through social integration. Coordination of actions and integration depends on a balance between the system and the lifeworld processes (Habermas, 1984). When the lifeworld processes are not reflected in the system, disequilibrium occurs, resulting in “malintegration.”¹⁹ Applying this concept to ethnic minorities, ethnic ambivalence result when they do not feel connected to society.

There are three worlds according to Habermas’ model: the objective, social, and subjective worlds. It is communicative action that brings the three worlds together, determining an individual’s action.

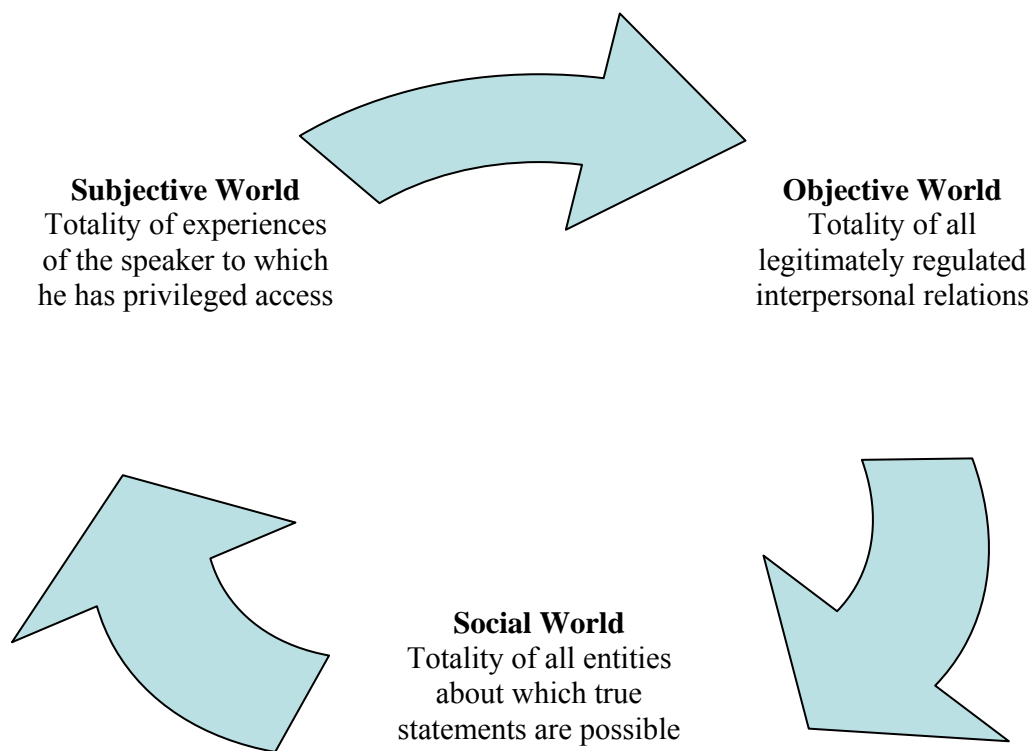


Figure 12. The different worlds in Jurgen Habermas’ communicative action.

¹⁸ Talcott Parsons

¹⁹ This is a term used by Parsons in his publication *The Social System* (1951).

In bringing the three worlds together, Habermas (1984) introduces the term *cognitive instrumental rationality*. It is the process of gaining knowledge about a contingent environment, and putting it to effective use by intelligently adapting to and manipulating the environment (Habermas, 1984).

Communication involves goal orientation. It is not restricted to the ability to produce grammatical sentences, but the ability to relate to the world, to other subjects, one's intentions, feelings and desires; bringing about "intersubjective recognition." Communication has to be free of coercion (Habermas, 1984).

There are four influential concepts of social action: teleological action, normative regulated action, dramaturgical norms, and communicative action. Teleological action is similar to Weber's means-end rationality, while normative regulated action deals with social norms and culture. Dramaturgical norms is similar to Goffman's approach. All these components play an important role in the formation of one's lifeworld (Habermas, 1984).

The lifeworld consists of culturally transmitted and linguistically organized stock of interpretive patterns. It is the individual's "stock of knowledge" serving as a point of reference for the adjudication of validity claims. It encompasses both the objective, social, and subjective worlds. The three structural components of the lifeworld: culture reproduction, social integration, and socialization all form the interdependence of socio-cultural transformations of the individual (Habermas, 1984).

Action draws on and reproduces the cultural, societal, and personality dimensions of the lifeworld. Speech and communicative action reproduces the lifeworld, which in turn serves as a reference point for adjudication of validity claims. Structural correspondence permits communicative action to perform different functions; serving as a suitable medium for the

symbolic reproduction of the lifeworld. When functions are interfered in the reproduction process, corresponding crisis manifestation arise, with the loss of meaning, confusion of orientations, anomie, destabilizations of collective identities, alienation, psychopathologies, breakdowns in tradition, and withdrawal of motivations. Crisis of the lifeworld reproduction serves as a stimulus to societal reorganization (Habermas, 1984; Habermas, 1985).

Power is tied to positions in hierarchical organizations that require legitimation.²⁰ As the market is an opened system, it is connected with administrative subsystems that make the market system. Capitalistic societies are steered by media steered interaction; particularly money and power. With the lifeworld steered by the media, “colonization of the lifeworld” results (Habermas 1984; Habermas, 1985).

As public lives are increasingly monetarized and bureaucratized, they become eroded and corrupted by the economic system, resulting in the loss of meaning and freedom in the lifeworld. Due to the difference between “value spheres” and “social spheres,” tensions increase due to differences in “validity claims.” According to communicative action, people from different groups and social strata have different lifeworlds, values and validity claims (Habermas, 1984; Habermas, 1985).

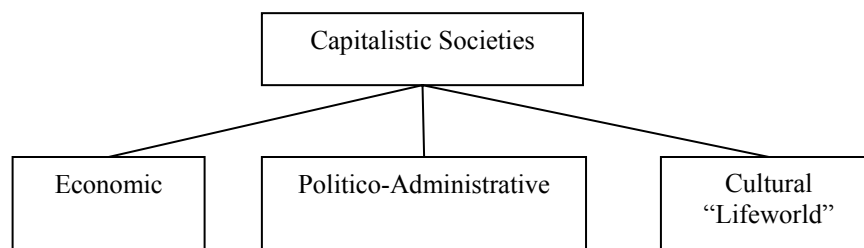


Figure 13. Three subsystems of capitalistic societies.

²⁰ This is a term coined by Max Weber.

In *Legitimation Crisis* (1973), Habermas observes that modern societies display the following characteristics: decline of the public sphere, increasing intervention of the state in the economy, and the growing dominance of science in the service of the state's interest. The state translates political issues into "technical problems" and is not opened for public debate. Instead, they represent technical problems that require experts in bureaucratic organizations. This results in depolitization and the loss of validity claims. With the loss of validity claims, legitimation crisis arise (Habermas, 1973).

Habermas (1973) mentioned four points of crisis: economic, rationality, motivational, and legitimation crisis. Economic crisis occurs when the economic subsystem can no longer generate sufficient productivity to meet people's needs. Rationality crisis occurs when political-administrative subsystem can no longer generate sufficient number of instrumental decisions. Motivational crisis occurs when actors can no longer use cultural symbols to generate meanings to feel committed to society. Finally, legitimation crisis occurs when actors do not possess motivations or commitments to the political subsystems in order to make decisions (Habermas, 1973).

The recent immigration debate²¹ is an excellent example of Habermas' four points of crisis. With the rising gas prices, inflation rates, unemployment and outsourcing of manufacturing jobs, it is clear to many that the current economic subsystem can no longer generate the productivity needed to meet with the people's needs.

With rising unemployment, illegal immigrants, working at below minimum wage, aggravate the situation further. Immigrants become convenient scapegoats for taking jobs away. The current immigration laws show the inadequacies of the political administrative subsystem's

²¹ This refers to the 2006 immigration debates, which is ongoing at the time of writing.

ability in dealing with the current immigration problem. The debates between “tightening the borders and immigration laws” versus “amnesty and opened borders” still persist.

From the perspective of minorities, ethnic ambivalence is best manifested through motivational crisis, where they can no longer generate sufficient meaning through cultural symbols to feel committed to society. This is one possible explanation as to why Mexican Americans still pledge allegiance to Mexico, and wave the Mexican national flag to protest American immigration policies. Adding all three components together, the fourth component, legitimization crisis, evolves when actors do not possess the motivations or commitment to make decisions regarding the political subsystems. This is best seen by the alienation displayed by those in the immigration debate.

The different perspectives mentioned dovetail nicely, providing an eclectic theoretical approach in an attempt to fully explain the multi-dimensions of ethnic identity. Efforts to bridge the micro-macro aspects of ethnic identity brought tenets of the functionalist, conflict, and symbolic interactionist traditions together, with each providing valuable insights on the topic of ethnic identity.

Colonial and Post Colonial Literature on Ethnic Identity

Ethnic identity has been the driving force for colonial writers like Albert Memmi (1965) and Frantz Fanon (1968). It served as a catalyst towards independence, and a bonding agent for the colonized masses. Memmi and Fanon, both professionals and members of the colonized masses, grappled with the devastating effects of mental colonization²²

²² Memmi, a Tunisian Jew, faced his own contradiction by marrying a member of his French colonial masters. For years he grappled with this contradiction, only to settle for silent acquiescence years later in Paris, France (Memmi, 1965).

The classical and post colonial models are important components in the discussion of ethnic identity. They provide the historical backdrop and building blocks for ethnic ambivalence, and as to how White models of beauty, morality, and institutions permeate all facets of the civilized world. Ethnic identity does not evolve from a vacuum nor does it remain static. It evolves and is contingent to the host society's history, institutions, culture, and legacy of subjugation and subordination.

Discussion ties the works of classical colonial writers Albert Memmi and Frantz Fanon, with Robert Blauner's (1972) internal colonization model; setting the stage for contemporary writers like Richard Rodriguez and Cornel West. All authors concur that ethnic identity is a critical role in shaping and determining one's life chances and psychological well being.

Classical Colonial Model

Most literature on the classical colonialism focuses on four elements: conquest, occupation, subjugation, and exploitation (Blauner, 1972). Colonialism accelerated during the industrial revolution. The need for raw materials necessitated colonization, and the doctrine of Manifest Destiny provided legitimization for the cause (Memmi, 1965; Fanon, 1963).

In the case of Africa, Asia, and Latin America, colonizers like the British, French, Germans, Italians, Spanish, and Americans exploited underdeveloped nations for their land, raw materials, and labor. Colonizers exerted their will through superior technology, and newly introduced institutions.²³ Robert Blauner listed four components of colonization:

1. Mode of entry of the dominant society: Forced entry of colonial power
2. Impact on culture: Constrains, transforms, and destruction of indigenous values, replacing it with that of the colonial masters

²³ This was the introduction of Western political, religious, and educational institutions (Memmi, 1965; Fanon, 1963).

3. Special relationship to governmental bureaucracies and the legal order: Lives of subordinates are secondary in relation to the colonial masters; the colonized are looked down upon and are exploited
4. Racism: Control by a biologically “superior group” on “an inferior one” in order to legitimize the exploitation and inequality (Blauner, 1972, p. 84)

Looking from a historical perspective, forced entry varied. Some colonial powers obtained their colonies through conquests, while others through peaceful negotiations with indigenous leaders, and other colonial powers²⁴.

The impact on culture was universal, but severity varied. The implementation of Western institutional models was universal, destroying indigenous cultures, traditions, and religions in the process. The colonized had no choice but to accept the ways of their colonial masters²⁵. As in the case of French North Africa, the Arabic language, a key component of the colonized identity, was replaced with French. Social mobility and acceptance was contingent on one’s mastery of the master’s language, and degree of assimilation to the master’s culture²⁶.

The replacement of indigenous institutions alienated the colonized masses. Legal and bureaucratic systems favored the colonial masters, and standards differed from the colonizers and the colonized. Fanon describes the colonial world as a Manichean world²⁷: segregated,

²⁴ This is true with the case of the British in the colonization of Malaya, where peaceful negotiations with indigenous leaders led to the cessation of Singapore and Penang. The Dutch handed Malacca over to the British after the signing of the Anglo Dutch Treaty (1824). Singapore, Malacca, and Penang made up the Straits Settlement of British Malaya.

²⁵ Once again, this varied according to countries. The British maintained the political institutions of Malaya, particularly the Sultans, who remained symbolic head of states. This was similar with Dutch Indonesia. British rule in Burma and Hong Kong, however, was drastically different: resulting in the total abolishment of the indigenous social systems. In the case of French colonization in Africa, total abolishment of indigenous institutions resulted (Memmi, 1965).

²⁶ Memmi (1965) pointed out that full assimilation was impossible as long as inequality persisted.

²⁷ The word comes from Manichaeism, a religious philosophy resulting from the syncretism of Zoroastrianism, Christianity, and Gnosticism. It was made prominent by a third century Persian philosopher named Mani (Manes), who preached a dualistic philosophy, dividing the world, between good and evil. To Mani, materialism was bad and the mind good. A Manichean world is one divided between good and evil. To Fanon, it is a world divided between the Colonizer and the Colonized, with the colonizers bad and the colonized good (Fanon, 1967).

divided, and only serving the interest of the colonial masters. In terms of holding administrative positions, the colonized were barred from holding key positions in various offices (Fanon, 1963).

Racism summed up and symbolized the relationship between the colonizers and colonized. Colonial racism was built from three major ideological components: the gulf between cultures; the exploitation of these differences; and the use of these supposed differences as standards of absolute fact (Memmi, 1965).

Racism rested on the premise that colonizers were biologically superior, and justified the disparity of wages between the colonizers and colonized. The colonized were portrayed as lazy; less productive and simple minded. Colonizers were generally paid three to four times higher, as they were the experts in their respective fields. The colonized, on the other hand, were exploited for their labor (Memmi, 1965; Fanon, 1963). Robert Blauner's (1972) internal colonization model mirrored similar characteristics with Memmi (1965) and Fanon's (1963) classical colonial model; with technological, cultural, and political domination as common characteristics (Blauner, 1972).

Robert Blauner's Internal Colonialism Model

Robert Blauner's "Internal Colonialism and Ghetto Revolt" (1969) parallels the plight of minorities in the US with colonies abroad. Blauner's internal colonial model reflected the Manichean world described by Fanon. Based on the demographic trends of the period, Blacks were concentrated in the South, Mexicans in the Southwest, and Asians at the Pacific Rim. The Southwest was conquered and occupied by the US after the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (1848). Western institutions replaced indigenous culture, and Mexican Americans, like the colonized masses, were exploited for both land and labor (Blauner, 1969).

Blacks were brought to the US involuntarily through the slave trade. They were then stripped of their culture and traditions, and subjugated and exploited for their labor. The plights of Blacks were not much different compared to their colonized counterparts. Drawing parallels with colonized countries, Blauner dubbed black ghettos as colonies: regions that are ruled from the outside with little autonomy and self determination inside. Unlike ethnic ghettos, however, Black ghettos were permanent (Blauner, 1969).

Written during the height of the Civil Rights Movement, Blauner saw the importance of cultural revitalization and self recognition. Like colonized nationalists abroad, the Black Panthers echoed Memmi's call for the development of ethnic identity, self discovery, and the rejection of the Western culture (Blauner, 1969).

Though Blauner (1969) acknowledged that cultural revitalization was an important component to the anti-colonial movement, he does not explain why or how it aided the movement. There were references to Albert Memmi and Frantz Fanon, but the effects of cultural repression went unaddressed. Blauner acknowledged that minorities suffer a split identity, cultural loyalty, and political affiliations, but does not elaborate the matter further. In order to fill in the missing pieces, it is important to return to Albert Memmi and Frantz Fanon.

Colonial Authors Frantz Fanon and Albert Memmi

Frantz Fanon's *Black Skin White Mask*²⁸ (1967) is a psychoanalytic analysis of the adverse effects of Western colonization on the minds of Blacks. To Fanon, Black identity is marked by self-division. Blacks would speak and behave one way with Whites, and another with

²⁸*Black Skin White Mask* (1967) is extremely hard for the initial reader. It was initially published in 1952, when Fanon was still studying medicine in Paris. The publication showed the influence of Sigmund Freud, Alfred Adler and Jacques Lacan. One can also see the philosophy of Karl Marx, Jean Paul Sartre and the poetic works of Aime Cesaire (Wyrick, 1998).

their own racial group. Such bifurcation, as Fanon describes it, is a direct result of colonial subjugation. Bifurcation, if unaddressed, will lead to alienation (Fanon, 1967).

Albert Memmi's *The Colonizer and The Colonized*²⁹ (1965) mirrors similar sentiments. Like Fanon, Memmi argued that years of political, economical, social, and cultural subjugation had taken a psychological toll on the colonized. Years of brainwashing had made the colonized ambivalent of their culture and institutions. Some abandoned their customs, religion, and institutions in the process, while others changed their names and became "acculturated" (Memmi, 1965).

Fanon argued that a Black man's inner most desire was to be White; a pathological desire forced on Blacks by the White civilization. Universal criterion of beauty based on White models made this desire impossible. In order to compensate, Blacks abandon themselves collectively with the hope of gaining White acceptance. Such a quest, according to Fanon, cultivated a culture of inferiority and resentment (Fanon 1967; Wyrick, 1998).

Alienation was further enhanced by the use of "marginal" as "go betweens." As mentioned by Fanon's *Wretched of the Earth* (1963), policemen and soldiers, whose ranks consisted of the colonized, were the official, instituted go-betweens. They served as the spokesman of the settler and the represent the rule of oppression. Memmi attributes such behaviors to the history of tyranny (Memmi 1965): a phenomenon still manifested by minorities today.

The colonial mentality is a possible explanations as to why minorities are harder on their own than others. It is a known fact that Mexican American Border Patrol agents are notoriously

²⁹*The Colonizer and the Colonized* (1965) is the discussion of the dichotomous relationship between the colonizer and the colonized. It deals strongly with the social psyche of both parties, and was used as a rallying force for nationalistic movements. The book was banned by the colonial police and possession of the book brought about a mandatory jail sentence (Memmi, 1965).

harder on Mexican and Mexican Americans. Constant harassment, verbal abuse and unnecessary searches are norms for residents in South Texas. Some paralleled the border to a war zone in an occupied territory (Dunn, 1995).

The same phenomenon was reflected in the education system as well. Chad Richardson's (1999) Borderlife Project reported that Mexican American teachers were notoriously harder on their Mexican American students. Mexican Americans were considered less intelligent, and steered towards technical fields, while their Anglo counterparts were encouraged to pursue academic endeavors. In terms of punishment, Mexican American children were punished harder compared to their Anglo counterparts for similar infractions (Richardson, 1999). Despite the gains made by the Civil Rights Movement, teachers, through their actions, clung on to the history of tyranny, fostered by self hate and ethnic ambivalence.

Fanon describes the self hate phenomenon as bifurcation: the confusion one gets by wearing a White mask for too long. Despite associating and identifying with the colonial masters, the colonized were never considered equal (Fanon, 1967). The most serious blow, however, was the sense of alienation.³⁰ The solution to the problem was simple: the rediscovery of one's identity,³¹ rejection of Western culture, development of a nationalistic outlook, and revolution. Both Memmi and Fanon advocate violence as a means of achieving their objective (Memmi, 1965; Fanon 1967).

Looking at the socio-political climate of the time, one can understand why revolution was the only answer. Memmi and Fanon wrote during the period of African nationalism; a time punctuated with bloodshed and massacre. Blauner wrote during the height of the Civil Rights

³⁰ This was adopted from the Marxian perspective. Fanon had the same revolutionary zeal of Marx. Like Marx, who predicted the demise of capitalism through the unification of the proletariats, Fanon predicted the demise of colonialism through the unification of the colonized (Wyrick, 1998).

³¹ Like Marx who dedicated his life in educating people about the evils of capitalism, Fanon dedicated his life in educating people of the evils of colonization (Wyrick, 1998).

Movement; a period of violent urban resistance. To all three authors, violence was inevitable. Though the call for revolution may be dated, the quest for rediscovery of one's identity is still an important in today's society (West, 1993; Rodriguez, 2002). Taking this into consideration, it is important to turn to contemporary writers like Richard Rodriguez and Cornel West, in the discussion of ethnic identity in the post Civil Rights era.

Richard Rodriguez

Richard Rodriguez's *Brown: The Last Discovery of America* (2002), a personal account of his own ethnic identity and sexual orientation,³² reflects the Manichean existence of Fanon's world. Torn between the pull of one's ethnic heritage and push to assimilation, Rodriguez lived a life of constant contradiction. Unlike the dichotomous Black and White world, Rodriguez, a Mexican American saw no reflection of himself in the world (Rodriguez, 2002).

Brought up during the Civil Rights Era, Rodriguez was taught to embrace cultures other than his own. Race relations, according to the Johnson Administration (1963-1968), were a society of Black and White. Rodriguez constantly faced the Black and White dialectics while growing up, and not Brown. An admirer of Malcolm X, Rodriguez spent years visualizing how it would be like to be part of the Civil Rights Movement: what brown meant, and as to how others might react to it:

A black girl, no older than Alice, must pass alone through the looking glass. I remember wondering what my brown would have meant to Little Rock, how my brown would have withstood Little Rock....Though I was born here, I came from the other side of the looking glass, as did Alice, though not alone like Alice. (Rodriguez, 2002, p. 4-5).

Rodriguez's use of the analogy of Alice through the looking glass was interesting.

³² Richard Rodriguez is gay and part of his discovery of his identity included his sexual orientation (Rodriguez, 2002).

Though Rodriguez came from the other side of the looking glass,³³ he saw no reflection of himself. He spoke about admiring the Black suit of Malcolm X, his sister dancing to the music of Motown, and how white boys “inhaled Black voices like helium.” Rodriguez was brought up on Black and White symbols. Though not in a positive light, Blacks could see a reflection of themselves in American society. To Mexican Americans, however, their situation was different. They had to confront their invisibility. It was only through self education where Rodriguez came to terms with his brown skin: “That part of America where I felt least certain about the meaning of my brown skin was also the part of the country I came to know best in me reading” (Rodriguez, 2002, p. 15).

Rodriguez found Brown to symbolize the separation between Black and White: Brown was between both worlds with no representation in either. Brown confuses, forming at the border of contradiction, a contradiction which has adverse effects on the individual. As most social psychologists agree, it is important for individuals to have a reference point to help navigate and shape their reality around them. To Mexican Americans, however, they have none. With the lack of reference point for Mexican Americans, Rodriguez became ambivalent of his own ethnicity as a child: “Yes, as a child, I dragged a razor blade against the skin of my forearm to see if I could get the brown out. I couldn’t” (Rodriguez, 2002, p. 66).

The sense of ambivalence was common among Mexican Americans. In Peter Skerry’s *Mexican American: The Ambivalent Minority* (1993), Skerry reported ambivalence in his years of research on Mexican American communities in San Antonio and Los Angeles. Some identified themselves with whites, while others tussle over the label Hispanics and Chicanos.

³³ Richard Rodriguez’s parents were migrants from Mexico; hence, the analogy of coming from the other side of the glass (Rodriguez, 2002).

Whatever the case may be, such polarizing effects were detrimental to the identity of the individuals in question (Skerry, 1993).

Richard Rodriguez was a benefactor of Affirmative Action. Brown was an advantage despite of the stigma attached to it. The color of his skin finally became a pass to higher education; a level of his life where being brown was no longer invisible: “Brown was no longer invisible by the time I got to college. In the white appraisal, brown skin became a coat of disadvantage, which was my advantage” (Rodriguez, 2002, p. 26).

Rodriguez feared that assimilation of Mexican Americans was problematic for future generations. To Rodriguez’ parents; assimilation³⁴ was the key to success. Reinventing their children, in the new society, was imperative. In a “culture of high WASP nostalgia,” many lose sense of who they are (Rodriguez, 2002).

Rodriguez’s *Brown: The Last Discovery of America* (2002) reinforced the position of Memmi and Fanon, illustrating the devastating effects of mental colonization. The title itself was interesting. The “last discovery,” in this case, was the discovery of the Hispanic identity: an identity long forgotten and hidden by the Anglo culture. Like Memmi and Fanon, Rodriguez called for the rediscovery of oneself and the sense of pride (Rodriguez, 2002).

Cornel West

Cornel West appeared most comprehensive in his analysis of the Black identity. Eclectic in approach, rich in details and at times difficult to follow, West followed closest to the tenets of Critical Theory, particularly that of Herbert Marcuse. Unlike previous authors mentioned, West throws the post modern culture (a culture of individualistic consumerism) into the equation, and

³⁴ Assimilation is the key to success for most first generation immigrants. The same is also found among Asian Americans. The rediscovery of one’s ethnic heritage usually occurs in the second or third generation. Some have labeled this the “rebound” generation (Lee, 1998).

the effects it has on the formation of Black identity. Though West focused on the Black identity, his theoretical analysis is applicable to other minority groups.

Despite the gains brought about by Affirmative Action, the rise of the Black³⁵ intellectuals and the middle class was a source of concern. Constant themes in his essays include the loss of Black identity through individualistic consumerism, the waning of Black leadership, and the rise of self serving Black intellectuals. The greatest concern of all, however, was the nihilistic threat³⁶ of Blacks.

In the essay, “Nihilism in Black America” (1993), West defined the nihilistic threat, as psychological depression resulting from a sense of worthlessness and social despair: encompassing the loss of hope, absence of meaning, and the sense of powerlessness. To West, the nihilistic threat is a product of the post modern culture: a culture dominated by market forces shaping the values of society (West 1993; West 1999).

According to West, market forces and the culture of consumerism (individualistic consumerism), destroyed black familial and communal networks, undermining traditional morality. Post Civil Rights Blacks are influenced by comfort, convenience, machismo, femininity, violence, and sexual stimulation: vices bombarded by the media. To West, post modern culture is market dominated by gangster mentality of self destructive wantonness (West, 1993).

In order to hold the nihilistic threat at bay, one must eradicate the sense of worthlessness and self loathing. Blacks need some kind of political of conversion with a new model of collective Black leadership. Blacks need to seek self love, self worth and self affirmation. Black

³⁵ West uses the identifiers “Blacks” and “African Americans” interchangeably in his numerous works. For the sake of consistency, the identifier “Black” is used.

³⁶ The “nihilistic threat” is similar to Fanon’s “bifurcation”: encompassing the loss of sense of self, hopelessness, and alienation.(Fanon, 1963)

America has to confront the self destruction and inhumane actions of its own people. This is a monumental task, however, due to the lack of quality Black leaders and intellectuals. Like most of the Black population, Black leaders and intellectuals have been swept away by a culture of self gain and self preservation (West, 1993; West 1999).

To West, the rise in quantity of Black leaders during the post Civil Rights Era did not necessarily mean a rise in quality. The Black middle class has become deficient and decadent; as dominant outlook and lifestyles discouraged the development of high quality of Black leaders and intellectuals. This, in turns, prevents the cultivation of Black leadership. Conspicuous consumption and hedonistic indulgence, promoted by mass culture, has sapped the vitality of the Black psyche. As mass culture dictates what people do, Black entrée into the culture of consumption becomes inevitable. Status becomes an obsession and addiction to stimulation a way of life (West 1993; 1999).

Present Black middle class life is a matter of professional conscientiousness, personal accomplishment, and cautious adjustment. Black leaders are too hungry for status, too eager for acceptance. They have become too self invested in advancement to be defiant. In short, Black leaders lack humility. As a result, the waning of Black leadership leads to deterioration of personal, communal and familial relations (West, 1993).

In the essay “Malcolm X and the Black Rage” (1993), West describes people who suffer “double consciousness” as those who live “betwixt and between” the Black and White worlds. “They traverse the borders between Black and White and never settling in one. They view themselves through the lens of the dominant society and have a colonized mindset. In essence, they are locked into a mindset of white approval” (West, 1993).

Self styled, beholden to none and strong in his convictions, Malcolm X called for self determinism. The need for psychic conversion was evident. Malcolm X believed that Blacks should believe in themselves and not subscribe to the value system that devalues them. Malcolm X called for Blacks to reject the captivity of White supremacy, and this can be achieved Black as long as Blacks are able to take control of their own lives (West, 1993).

To West the nihilistic threat encompassed both structure and behavioral aspects of society. Bridging both the micro and macro aspects of society, he explored various aspects of subjective and structural determinants (West, 1993; West 1999). West's analysis of the Black identity was simple: in that it was facing a crisis and in need for revitalization. Revitalization can only be achieved through self discovery, rediscovery of one's identity, and the eradication of the colonial mentality. Blacks cannot afford to view themselves through White lenses, and should shape a world of their own. Black politicians, in their search for wealth, power, and prestige, have engaged in self aggrandizement rather than communalism and shared identity. This, to West, was the biggest contributing factor behind the nihilistic threat: a threat destroying the psychological well being of Black America.

The legacy of ethnic identity is long and its history varied. Ethnic identity evolves, changing according to the socio-political climate of the time. As seen through history, ethnic identity is a double edged sword; used to either work for or against the individual. Colonial masters used ethnic identity to subjugate the colonized masses, while nationalist leaders used ethnic identity as a tool to unite the masses.

Through the colonial period, the Civil Rights Movement, and the post modern era ethnic identity, ethnic identity has been an important component to the psychological well being of individuals. As seen through the authors, self hate, ambivalence, and invisibility are destructive.

Revitalization can only occur through self discovery, and it is only through self discovery where one is able to remove the shackles of colonization and the legacy of prejudice and discrimination.

Summary

This chapter presented the various literatures relevant to the topic of ethnic identity, along with the analytical framework and research hypothesis. Results of past studies and theoretical perspectives from the various disciplines indicate the fluidity of ethnic identity. How one sees oneself in light of others is contingent on the social political climate of the time, and research on the topic should bridge both the micro and macro aspects of society.

CHAPTER 3

DATA AND METHODS

Introduction

This chapter describes the analytical framework and research hypotheses, research design, gaining entrée, the data collection process, sample description, methods of data analysis, and its justifications. The first section describes the analytical framework and research hypotheses, research design; gaining entrée and the data collection process and the sample description follows in the second and third section respectively. The third section details the methods of data analysis and its justification, followed by a summary of the chapter.

Analytical Framework and Research Hypothesis

As this research was designed to study the ethnic identity of Mexican American children and children in general, quantitative data analysis using frequencies, and correlation attempted to bridge the micro-macro aspects of society that shape the development of a child's ethnic identity. Frequencies of choices in terms of race are illustrated in cross tabulations tables. Frequencies also provide an indication as to how children reinforce or do not reinforce societal stereotypes, along with the perception of society's hierarchy and power relationship.

Correlation analysis tested the relationship between variables that possibly played a part in the stereotype and ethnic identity formation of a child. Qualitative observations came from both children interviews and comments made by parents in the parental surveys. Observations during interviews involved, but were not limited to the behavior and mannerisms of children, their body language, and the reasons behind their choices. Parental comments on multiculturalism, interracial marriages, and race relations provided insights on possible parental

and environmental influences. Data from the qualitative observations were merged with the quantitative data to form a cohesive theoretical perspective.

The research hypotheses are as follows:

H1: Mexican American children will score lower on the Ethnic Identification Preference Scale (EIPS) than White children.

H2: Mexican American children will report less extropunitive ego-defense mechanism traits than White children. Extropunitive ego-defense mechanisms include the following:

- i. Prejudice against other groups
- ii. Strengthening of in-group ties
- iii. Enhanced striving
- iv. Obsessive concern and suspicion
- v. Slyness and cunning
- vi. Aggression and revolt: stealing, competitiveness, rebellion

This was based on the assumption that people who are in the position of power will tend to displace and project their anger on groups that are in lesser position of power as mentioned in Gordon Allport's *The Nature of Prejudice* (1954).

H3: Mexican Americans will report more intropunitive ego-defense mechanisms than White children. Intropunitive ego-defense mechanisms include the following:

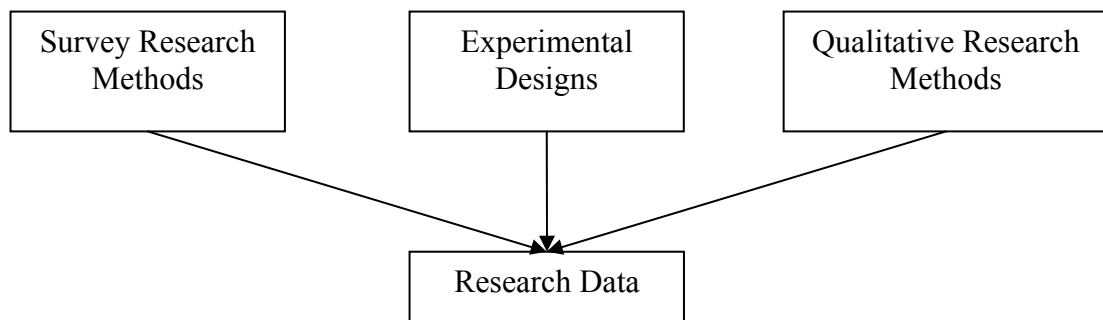
- i. Denial of membership in own group
- ii. Withdrawal and passivity
- iii. Clowning
- iv. Self-hate
- v. In group aggression
- vi. Sympathy with all victims
- vii. Symbolic status striving
- viii. Neuroticism

This was based on the assumption that members who belong to groups that are not in the position of power tend to project inwards as an ego-defense mechanism as suggested by Gordon Allport in *The Nature of Prejudice* (1954).

Research Design

This research followed a mixed model research design, borrowing aspects of experimental, quantitative, and qualitative research methods (Creswell; 2003, Creswell & Plano Clark, 2007). Interviews were conducted in a controlled situation, with the doll and action figure selection based on specific questions. There was no presence of a stimulus, nor control or experimental group. The doll selection process contained features of experimental designs, while the parent's survey highlighted features of survey methods. Observations of the children in terms of their reactions, mannerism, and direct quotes followed the qualitative research tradition. Results from each data set were merged together to provide the research data, as illustrated in Figure 14:

A



B.

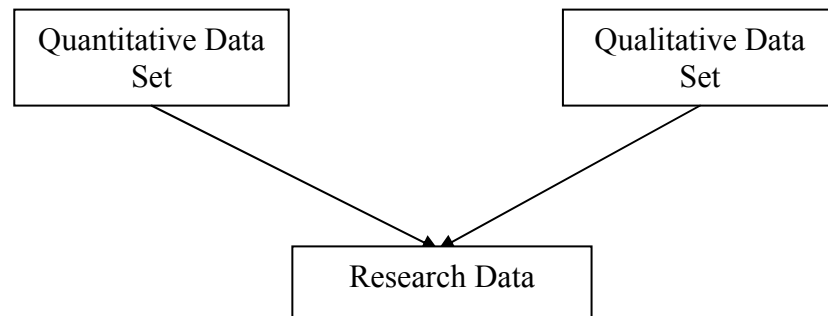


Figure 14. (A) Mixed model research design; (B) Merging the data.

Reasons for the Use of Mixed Model Research Design

Taking into consideration the multiplicity of elements that play a role in ethnic identity formation, a mixed model approach appeared most practical. As ethnic identity is multidimensional, it was important to bridge both micro and macro aspects of society together. There was concern that valuable information would be lost, and the intention was to cast the widest net possible. John W. Creswell and Vicki L. Plano Clark (2007), in the discussion of mixed model methods, brought up several advantages of the mixed model approach which was relevant to this research.

The mixed model brings both quantitative and qualitative data sets together, which facilitates better understanding of the data sets combined than alone. It helps verbalize quantitative data, and combines both inductive and deductive reasoning. The mixed model is also practical, as it allows the use of all possible methods to address the research problem (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2007).

Operational Definitions

Stereotype Formation, Self-Esteem, and Ethnic Preference scores were tabulated based on the answers provided, which was then used to run quantitative analysis on the Mexican American and White sample. Answers and reactions of children from probing questions were recorded for qualitative analysis.

The Self-Esteem score was designed to measure the level of self-esteem in the child on a 4 point scale. In this case, Positive responses indicated low self-esteem. One point was awarded for one who strongly agrees and 4 points was awarded to those who strongly disagree. The higher the score, one concludes the higher the self-esteem. For example, with regards to the question “I feel useless at times,” 1 point was awarded if the child chooses the response *Strongly agree*, 2 for *Agree*, 3 for *Disagree* and 4 for *Strongly disagree*.

The Ethnic Preference score was designed to measure the degree of ethnic preference in the children. It was based on a 4 point scale according to the position the child assigns his/her ethnic group in the hierarchical structure of occupations and positions in the doll selection process. Children were shown dolls that represented the four major racial groups in the US: Whites, Blacks, Asians, and Hispanics. If a child selected a doll or action figure reflecting his or her ethnicity as the Sergeant, which was third in the hierarchical ladder, the child was awarded 2 points. If the doll of the same ethnicity was selected as the General, which was the highest, 4 points was awarded. Likewise in the case of the hero/villain scenario, 1 point was awarded if the child chose the doll or action figure reflecting his/her ethnicity as the villain and 2 points as the friend of the villain etc. Hence, the higher the score, the greater the ethnic preference to one's ethnic group.

Stereotype Formation scores were designed to test the stereotype formation of children in relation to different ethnic groups. In this research, ethnic foods and sports were used to test stereotype formation. One point was awarded to answers that fit the ethnic stereotype in question. Hence, 1 point was awarded to the individual who says that the doll representing Asian Americans ordered egg rolls in a restaurant. No point was awarded if the choice did not fit the stereotype: hence, the higher the score, the greater the stereotype formation.

The parent's survey contained both open-ended and closed-ended³⁷ questions. Questions regarding income, education, number of generations in the US, and ethnic composition of the neighborhood were closed-ended. Parents had to choose from a list of answers. Closed-ended questions were designed for quantitative analysis, combined with scores tabulated from the children's interview questions.

Questions on marriage preferences, ethnic festivals, and multicultural issues were open-ended for qualitative analysis. Parents were free to express their opinions on sensitive issues. Attention was paid to themes that developed from the answers, which was later combined with the qualitative observations of the children during the interviews.

Gaining Entrée and Data Collection Process

Gaining Entrée

Gaining entrée to participants was a challenge. As the research involved children, many were skeptical. I really had to think on my feet. It took a lot of determination, fortitude, and most important faith dealing with the many challenges, adversities and joys that accompanied the journey.

³⁷ Some questions were specific, where parents had to choose from a scale. Others allowed parents to express their opinions and views on multicultural issues.

This research was like one of the many Ray Harryhausen's *Sinbad the Sailor* movies. In many ways it was like sailing a ship in the ocean. Not only did the research sail on uncharted waters, it took on a life of its own. As much as you try to navigate and steer it, it took its own course. There were times you had to let the tide carry you, while at other times sail against the wind. There were ports of call that welcomed you with opened arms, while there were others who turned you away. The most important thing was to keep sailing. Like Sinbad in his many voyages, the research came across numerous lands filled with adventures and treasures, while others with monsters and misfortunes.

Most literature on research methods would generally advise you to go into the field prepared; to have a plan, a map and compass to help navigate in the ocean of information. Recommended is also a timeline, a strict schedule as to what stage your research should be and as to how long each stage of the research should entail. This would, in the process, provide predictability, security, and stability to the research.

There was a plan of attack for every possible scenario, accompanied with a contingency plan. Despite being prepared, one had to "expect the unexpected," "roll with the punches," and to "hang in there" when the going got tough. Like Sinbad, one also had to be prepared to battle any sorceress, cyclops, or dragons that unexpectedly arrived.

Experience from this research proved that human beings were predictably unpredictable. Those who promised to assist or participate failed to do so. Others, who have shown great enthusiasm during the planning stages, failed to follow through when the time came. At the same time, there was invaluable help from people who were total strangers. Many enthusiastic teachers and parents of participants gave their assistance, provided referrals and recommendations for participants, and offered their encouragement. This research would not have been successful if it

was not for the help of numerous individuals who have given their support, encouragement and assistance in seeing this project through. Like in any adventure, this research had its fair share of heroes and villains.

Gaining entrée to familiar populations was definitely a plus. There was less suspicion and skepticism of the legitimacy and the integrity of the research in question. There were fewer problems in convincing parents and children to participate.

The director of a private day care center granted immediate approval, as she already knew me personally. She was aware of how well I got along with children, as I was a frequent visitor to her facility when my son was enrolled there. Her assistant director assisted in getting participants for the study by distributing and collecting the consent forms.

Entree to a private catholic school was easy as my son was a student at the same institution. Teachers, staff, and parents were familiar with me and I was granted unlimited access to the school by the principal.

The school and daycare center assisted in the distribution and collection of the consent forms. Success would not have been possible without their assistance. Teachers assisted by informing parents of the scope of the study, and distributed consent forms to children whom they thought would provide valuable input. The office secretary collected the forms and informed me of the number of people who have consented to participate.

The principal of the catholic school referred me to another private catholic school in an adjacent town approximately 20 miles away. Contact was made with the principal via e-mail. After two unanswered e-mails, contact was broken.

Two attempts were made with the independent school district in a North Central Texas town. The first attempt was made during April 2004. The initial response from the district was

positive. The contact person felt that the study was important and would provide the school system with important indication as to how successful they were with their multicultural programs. The proposal was brought up to his supervisors and the response was negative. The school district provided no reason and I did not seek an explanation.

The second attempt to gain entrée was done in October 2005. Once again, the scope of the study was fully explained. The attempt was further reinforced by the fact that a pretest was done at two other institutions, which resulted with no problems. The contact person said that he would check with his supervisors and will get back to me. After three months of no response, contact was broken.

Entrée was also gained through a Karate class held at the YMCA of a Central Texas town. The Karate class consisted of children of the age group needed for the study. The Karate instructor was one of my kickboxing students and was willing to assist. She approached parents, gained consent and facilitated the interviews by setting up a schedule. Three home schooled children from the region were approached this way.

Gaining entrée to participants in North Texas was a little more difficult as I was relatively new to the area. Nevertheless, entrée was gained through personal acquaintances and neighbors. Patrons of a local gym, who had children of the target age, were approached. Altogether, seven children of gym parents participated.

Despite the setbacks, there was also a fair share of good fortune. I came across a contact person of a playgroup for home schooled children in the area. I met with the home schooled play group a week later at a local play ground. With the aid of the contact person, I was able to get the consent of all families present. As mandated by the University of North Texas Internal Review Board, data collection ended in May 2006.

Data Collection Process

Each participant was interviewed individually, and sat directly opposite me.³⁸ Participants were instructed to play the role of a casting director, and to treat the experiment as a casting call. I explained that it was the casting director's job to assign roles to actors. The actors and actresses were the action figures and dolls, and it was their job to cast each actor and actress according to the story line. Participants were free to make their choice, and it was stressed that there was no right or wrong answer.

The action figures and dolls representing the four races in America were placed on the table, side by side, at random. When male participants were interviewed, the action figures were placed directly in front of them, with the dolls set to the side. For female participants, it was the reverse.

I placed the data gathering instrument in front of me and read each question aloud. I would then await the response of each participant. For older participants, each question was read verbatim. Each time a doll or action figure was selected, it was placed to the side, leaving the remaining three behind. This gave indication that each doll was to be selected only once. When the second doll was chosen, it was set aside with the first and so on. After one to two questions, participants automatically set the dolls and action figures aside, indicating that they knew what was expected. Participants were asked the reason behind each choice. The initial response was recorded and accepted at face value.³⁹

For questions concerning marriage selection, participants were allowed to choose the same doll or action figure numerous times. I picked one doll (for girls) or action figure (for boys) at a time, and participants were asked to select the appropriate marriage partner among the pool

³⁸ I am Asian.

³⁹ Probing questions were avoided in order not to upset the participants as mandated by the UNT Internal Review Board.

of action figures or dolls. After each choice, the selected action figure or doll was returned to its original place.

Questions were repeated or rephrased when participants appeared not to hear or understand its context. Each answer was recorded by circling the answer provided on the data gathering instrument. This was done in plain view of the participants.

Each participant spent an average of 20 minutes with me. Based on their reactions, the questions appeared well phrased and straightforward. None asked to have any of the questions repeated or clarified, and the majority answered instantaneously.

To ensure that children 5 years and under understood what was asked, each question was repeated and rephrased. When asked if they comprehended the questions, all acknowledged that they did. This was further reinforced by the fact that each participant stuck to his or her initial answer after each question was repeated and rephrased:

Researcher: Of these action figures, which one would you chose as the General?

Participant: This one.

Researcher: The General?

Participants: Yes...this one.

Researcher: The one who is the highest and in charge of everyone?

Participant: Yes....this one.

None of the participants displayed any uneasiness in answering the questions. They appeared at ease and did not display the reactions described in the original Clark and Clark (1947) study, where children were upset and cried when they identified themselves with one doll but chose another as attractive.

In most cases, the children laughed, giggled, and played with the dolls and action figures. Some combed the hair of the dolls, while others made pony tails. Others engaged in conversation between questions. A 3rd grade girl, for example, spoke about the number of Barbie® dolls (Mattel, Inc., <http://www.mattel.com>) she had. She mentioned that her father kept them in the attic and she never really liked playing with them, though she received many as gifts.⁴⁰

The majority of the participants treated the experiment as a game. Children were excited and competed with each other to be the next one questioned. Each time the experimenter approached a classroom for a participant; children jumped and waved their hands vigorously, pleading with their teacher to be the next one selected:

Please ...sir...Can I go next?

Can I go next?

Me....me....me...! (Waving his arms in the air wildly)

It's my turn It's my turn....

A participant was visibly upset when another was chosen before him. He cried and did not stop until he was selected. Other evidence of enjoyment included laughter, fascination over the dolls and action figures. One remarked that the experiment was fun, and wanted more questions to answer after the interview was over. Another asked if she could have a few minutes to play with the dolls, while another inquired if she could keep her favorite doll.

For those interviewed at school or at the daycare center, the parent's survey was sent back with the child. It was then turned in to the school's or daycare's secretary. The researcher would then collect the surveys from the office the next time he returned. There was a 50% return rate for the surveys.

⁴⁰ Though she openly said that she did not like Barbie dolls, she was the participant who played with the Barbie dolls the most. While interviewing her, she kept stroking the hair of the White Barbie.

Interview locations varied. Fifty-three were interviewed in school, while 29 were interviewed at their homes. Thirteen were interviewed at their after school daycare, and two interviewed at the local YMCA before Karate class. Five were interviewed at my home, while two at their mother's hairdressing salon.

Sample Description

Data collection, from May 2005 to May 2006, resulted in a total of 104 participants. Of the 104, 39 were from the pre-test group, while 65 came from the research group. In terms of the sex distribution, 36 were males and 68 females. Of the children interviewed, 26 were from North Texas, while 78 came from North Central Texas

The age range was from 3 to 15 years. The bulk was made up of 9-year-olds ($n=20$), with 8-year-olds ($n=18$) a close second. The majority of the participants were aged 5 to 10 years, with those from 12 to 15 years constituting the minority. Breaking down the age by ethnicity, the average age of Asian, Mexican American, and White participants all stood at 8 years old each.

Of the 104 participants, 70 identified themselves as White, 13 as Asian/Pacific Islanders, with 21 identifying themselves as Mexican Americans/Hispanics. None were classified⁴¹ as Black or African Americans; though three from the Mexican American/Hispanic sample had Black heritage.

Breaking down ethnicity by region, 20 of the White participants were from North Texas, and 50 from North Central Texas. Of the Asian/Pacific Islanders, four were from North Texas and nine from North Central Texas. As for the Mexican American/Hispanic participants, 19 came from North Central Texas and two from North Texas.

⁴¹ Children were asked what their ethnicity was. In most cases, they were able to identify themselves without question. As for those who were unsure, cross reference was made with the parental survey for affirmation.

Table 1

Cross Tabulation of Ethnicity and Region

Ethnicity	Region		% (n)
	North Texas ⁴²	North Central Texas ⁴³	
White	29	71	100(n=70)
Asian/Pacific Islander	30	70	100 (n=13)
Mexican	9	91	100 (n=21)
American/Hispanic			
Total sample % (n)	25 (n=26)	75 (n=78)	100 (N=104)

Table 2

Cross Tabulation of Ethnicity by Sex of the Child

Ethnicity	Sex of the Child		% (n)
	Male	Female	
White	31	69	100 (n=70)
Asian/Pacific Islander	38	62	100 (n =13)
Mexican Americans/Hispanic	43	57	100 (n =21)
Total Sample % (n)	35 (n =36)	65 (n =68)	100 (n =104)

Of the White participants, 22 were males and 48 females. There were 5 males and 8 females among the Asian/Pacific Islander sample, and 9 males and 12 females among Mexican Americans/Hispanics.

⁴² This was a suburb of in the Dallas-Ft. Worth Metroplex.

⁴³ This was a rural town south of the Dallas-Ft. Worth Metroplex..

Majority of the participants ($n=53$) were from a private school in a North Central Texas town. Thirty-four were from public schools in both North Central and North Texas. There were 16 who were home schooled, with one in pre-school.

Table 3

Cross Tabulation between Ethnicity and Type of School

Ethnicity	Type of School				% (n)
	Public	Private	Home School	Pre-School	
White	31	47	20	1	100 ($n=70$)
Asian/Pacific Islander	31	69	0	0	100 ($n=13$)
Mexican American/Hispanic	38	52	10	0	100 ($n=21$)
Total Sample % ⁴⁴ (n)	33 ($n=34$)	51 ($n=53$)	15 ($n=16$)	0	100 ($N=104$) ⁴⁵

Of the White participants, 22 came from public schools and 33 from private school. One was in pre-school, while 14 were home schooled. Among the Asian/Pacific Islanders, 4 were from public and 9 from private school. For the Mexican American/Hispanic participants, 8 came from public and 11 from private schools, while 2 were home schooled.

Summary

This chapter describes the research design, gaining entrée and the data collection process, sample description, and methods of data analysis and its justifications. The next chapter will provide a quantitative data analysis of the information gathered from children interviews.

⁴⁴ Percentages were rounded up to the nearest whole number. Hence there was a 1% differential in some of the percentages.

⁴⁵ One participant was removed mid interview. Hence, some tables had the total sample at ($N=103$).

CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS OF QUANTITATIVE DATA ANALYSIS

Introduction

This chapter reports the quantitative data analysis. The first section reports the reliability test conducted on the following variables: Self-Esteem, Stereotype Formation, and Ethnic Identity Preference scores. The second and third sections detail quantitative analysis on the entire sample.⁴⁶ reporting correlations, and cross tabulations. The chapter concludes with the quantitative analyses relevant to the Hypothesis 1, followed by a summary.

Reliability Test

In order to test the reliability of the variables Ethnic Preference, Self-Esteem, and Stereotype Formation scores, Cronbach alpha yielded the following α scores: Ethnic Identity Preference scores .56, Self-Esteem scores .57, and Stereotype Formation scores .67. The α scores of all three variables fell between the questionable and acceptable range⁴⁷.

Quantitative Data Analysis of the Entire Sample

The following are correlations derived from the child interview and parent survey data. As seen throughout the analysis, some aspects of race relations were reinforced while others were not.

⁴⁶ Though reporting on the entire sample does not entirely match the research hypothesis, data gathered brought up “unexpected treasures” that may be important in the study of ethnic identity in future.

⁴⁷ The questionable α score provides indication that methods of the past can no longer be used on children today, which is later discussed in the limitations of this study. The use of dolls and action figures may have been dated.

Table 4

Correlation for Age of Child, Stereotype Formation Score, Number of Generations in the US, Type of School, and Region

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Age of Child	1.0				
Stereotype Formation Score	.49**	1.0			
Number of Generations in the US	-.18	-.519**	1.0		
Type of School ⁴⁸	.011	.05	.472**	1.0	
Region	.286**	.327**	.417**	.221*	1.0
<i>Note.</i> **Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level					
*Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level					

There was a positive correlation between age and stereotype formation, suggesting that stereotype formation become stronger as children grow older. However, there was a negative correlation between numbers of generations in the US. The degree of assimilation also determined the ethnicity of one's closest friends, the type of school one goes to, and region where one lives. There were correlations between the number of generations in the US with the type of school, and region.

Data also suggest that those who were more assimilated had a higher propensity to attend private schools. Most of the interviewees from the small North Central Texas town were enrolled in a private catholic school. In terms of environmental factors, correlations between region, stereotype formation and self-esteem scores yielded significant relationship at the .01 level.

⁴⁸ A was run on the variables Type of School and Region.

Table 5

Cross Tabulation of Region by Stereotype Formation Score

Region	Stereotype Formation Score ⁴⁹			% (n)
	High	Medium	Low	
North Texas	50	27	23	100 (n=26)
North Central Texas	20	40	40	100 (n=77)
% (n)	27 (n=28)	37 (n=38)	36(n=37)	100 (N=103)

Stereotype formation was stronger among children in North Texas, with 77% of the children scoring medium to high stereotype formation scores. As for children from North Central Texas, 60% of the sample had medium to high stereotype formation scores.

Correlation⁵⁰ between region and self-esteem yielded a score of .287 at the .01 significance level. There was also a correlation of a score of .687 at the .01 level⁵¹ between the ethnic composition of one's neighborhood and the ethnicity of the child's closest friends. This would suggest that environment played an important role in shaping how children saw and relate themselves with others. In terms of ethnicity and family income, there was a correlation with a score of .43 with a significance level at the .01 level.⁵²

Results of the story construction exercise showed that societal racial attitudes of children have changed since the time of the Clark and Clark (1947) experiment. Cross tabulations, and percentages revealed that categorization based on race was not as rigid compared to children 60 years earlier.

⁴⁹ Scores that were one or two points from the mean was considered medium, while those above two points was considered low and two or more points above the mean was considered high.

⁵⁰ Λ was done on SPSS.

⁵¹ Λ was done on SPSS.

⁵² Λ was done on SPSS.

Children no longer adhered to rigid social stereotypes, and practiced greater ego fluidity. They were able to transcend ethnic lines when it came to positions of power, intelligence, food and sports preference, marriage selection, play preference, and concept of beauty. Most interesting, however, unlike the children of the Clark and Clark (1947), children of this sample treated play preference, self identification, and the concept of beauty as separate concepts.

Table 6

Cross Tabulation: Casting of Roles

A. Cross Tabulation of Ethnicity by Choice of Hero/Heroine

Ethnicity	Choice of Hero/Heroine				%
	White	Asian	Hispanic	Black	
White	27	27	30	16	100 (n=70)
Asian/Pacific Islanders	15	47	23	15	100 (n=13)
Mexican American/Hispanics	14	43	14	29	100 (n=21)
% ^a (n)	23 (n=24)	35 (n=36)	26 (n=27)	16 (n=17)	100 (N=104)

^aPercentages were all rounded to the nearest whole number. Hence, there may be a plus or minus one margin of error in the total percentages.

B. Cross Tabulation of Ethnicity by Choice of Villain/Villainess

Ethnicity	Choice of Villain/Villainess				%
	White	Asian	Hispanic	Black	
White	19	36	20	26	100 (n=70)
Asian/Pacific Islanders	23	15	15	46	100 (n=13)
Mexican American/Hispanics	24	33	29	14	100 (n=21)
Total Sample % (n)	20 (n=21)	33 (n=34)	21 (n=22)	26 (n=27)	100 (N=104)

(table continues)

Table 6 (*continued*).*C. Cross Tabulation of Ethnicity by Choice of Friend of Hero/Heroine*

Ethnicity	Choice Friend of Hero/Heroine				%
	White	Asian	Hispanic	Black	
White	23	20	30	27	100 (<i>n</i> =70)
Asian/ Pacific Islander	15	31	23	31	100 (<i>n</i> =13)
Mexican American/ Hispanics	14	14	43	29	100 (<i>n</i> =21)
Total Sample % (<i>n</i>)	20 (<i>n</i> =21)	20 (<i>n</i> =21)	32 (<i>n</i> =33)	28 (<i>n</i> =29)	100 (<i>N</i> =104)

D. Cross Tabulation of Ethnicity by Choice of Friend of Villain/Villainess

Ethnicity	Friend of Villain/Villainess				%
	White	Asian	Hispanic	Black	
White	30	16	23	31	100 (<i>n</i> =70)
Asian/ Pacific Islander	38	15	38	8	100 (<i>n</i> =13)
Mexican American/ Hispanic	43	14	14	29	100 (<i>n</i> =21)
Total Sample % (<i>n</i>)	34 (<i>n</i> =35)	15 (<i>n</i> =16)	23 (<i>n</i> =24)	28 (<i>n</i> =29)	100 (<i>N</i> =104)

Children did not reinforce the stereotype of White heroes and Black villains. Based on the percentages, Asians made good heroes and villains.⁵³ Hispanics had the highest percentage as the friend of the hero, with Whites as “partners in crime.” Blacks did not have the highest percentage in any category. It was interesting to note among Mexican American/Hispanic participants, the highest percentage went to the Hispanic doll and action figure as the friend of the hero, which was consistent with the total sample.

⁵³ This is a common theme in most of Jackie Chan’s movies.

Table 7

*Cross Tabulation: Military Hierarchy**A. Cross Tabulation of Ethnicity by Choice of 1st in Charge Military*

Ethnicity	1st in Charge Military				%
	White	Asian	Hispanic	Black	
White	23	33	22	22	100 (n=69)
Asian/ Pacific Islander	31	31	15	23	100 (n=13)
Mexican American/Hispanic	14	33	29	24	100 (n=21)
Total Sample % (n)	22 (n=23)	33 (n=34)	23 (n=22)	23 (n=22)	100 (N=103)

B. Cross Tabulation of Ethnicity by Choice of 2nd in Charge Military

Ethnicity	2 nd in Charge Military				%
	White	Asian	Hispanic	Black	
White	23	22	29	26	100 (n=69)
Asian/ Pacific Islander	0	31	54	15	100 (n=13)
Mexican American/ Hispanic	33	5	33	29	100 (n=21)
Total Sample % (n)	22 (n=23)	19 (n=20)	33 (n=34)	25(n=26)	100 (N=103)

C. Cross Tabulation of Ethnicity by Choice of 3rd in Charge Military

Ethnicity	3 rd in Charge Military				%
	White	Asian	Hispanic	Black	
White	29	19	30	22	100 (n=69)
Asian/ Pacific Islander	7	31	31	31	100 (n=13)
Mexican American/ Hispanic	14	38	24	24	100 (n=21)
Total Sample % (n)	23 (n=24)	24 (n=25)	29 (n=30)	23 (n=24)	100 (N=103)

(table continues)

Table 7 (*continued*).D. *Cross Tabulation of Ethnicity by 4th in Charge Military*

Ethnicity	4 th in Charge Military				%
	White	Asian	Hispanic	Black	(n)
White	25	26	19	30	100 (n=69)
Asian/ Pacific Islander	46	15	0	38	100 (n=13)
Mexican American/ Hispanic	38	24	14	24	100 (n=21)
Total Sample % (n)	30 (n=31)	24 (n=25)	16 (n=16)	30 (n=31)	100 (N=103)

Table 8

*Cross Tabulation: Hierarchy in the Workplace*A. *Cross Tabulation of Ethnicity by 1st in Charge at the Workplace*

Ethnicity	1 st in Charge at the Workplace				%
	White	Asian	Hispanic	Black	(n)
White	14	36	27	23	100 (n=70)
Asian/Pacific Islander	31	38	15	15	100 (n=13)
Mexican American/Hispanic	24	33	33	10	100 (n=21)
Total Sample % (n)	18(n=19)	36 (n=37)	27 (n=28)	19 (n=20)	100 (N=104)

B. *Cross Tabulation of Ethnicity by 2nd in Charge at the Workplace*

Ethnicity	2 nd in Charge at the Workplace				%
	White	Asian	Hispanic	Black	(n)
White	29	23	27	21	100 (n=70)
Asian/ Pacific Islander	8	15	31	46	100 (n=13)
Mexican American/ Hispanic	24	29	29	19	100 (n=21)
Total Sample % (n)	25 (n=26)	23 (n=24)	28 (n=29)	24 (n=25)	100 (N=104)

(table continues)

Table 8 (*continued*).*C. Cross Tabulation of Ethnicity by 3rd in Charge at the Workplace*

Ethnicity	3 rd in Charge at the Workplace				%
	White	Asian	Hispanic	Black	(n)
White	23	20	30	27	100 (n=70)
Asian/ Pacific Islander	38	31	31	0	100 (n=13)
Mexican American/ Hispanic	29	29	14	29	100 (n=21)
Total Sample % (n)	26 (n=27)	23 (n=24)	27 (n=28)	24 (n=25)	100 (N=104)

D. Cross Tabulation of Ethnicity by 4th in Charge at the Workplace

Ethnicity	4 th in Charge at the Workplace				%
	White	Asian	Hispanic	Black	(n)
White	34	20	17	29	100 (n=70)
Asian/ Pacific Islander	31	15	23	31	100 (n=13)
Mexican American/ Hispanic	24	10	24	43	100 (n=21)
Total Sample % (n)	32 (n=33)	17 (n=18)	19 (n=20)	32 (n=33)	100 (N=104)

In terms of story construction and the casting of roles, on the whole children did not reflect social hierarchy from their choices. Asians had the highest percentage when it came to positions of power in both the military and civil sectors. Hispanics dominated middle management in both civil and military sectors, with Blacks and Whites having the highest percentages in the lowest positions. Among the Mexican American/Hispanic participants, majority assigned the Hispanic doll and action figure as first in charge in the military.

Table 9

*Cross Tabulation: Test Score Assignment**A. Cross Tabulation of Ethnicity by Assignment of the Score of 100 Points*

Ethnicity	Score 100 Points for Test				%(<i>n</i>)
	White	Asian	Hispanic	Black	
White	20	41	23	16	100 (<i>n</i> =70)
Asian/ Pacific Islander	23	46	15	15	100 (<i>n</i> =13)
Mexican American/ Hispanic	29	38	14	19	100 (<i>n</i> =21)
Total Sample % (<i>n</i>)	22 (<i>n</i> =23)	42 (<i>n</i> =43)	20 (<i>n</i> =21)	16 (<i>n</i> =17)	100 (<i>N</i> =104)

B. Cross Tabulation of Ethnicity by Assignment of the Score of 90 Points

Ethnicity	Score 90 Points for Test				%(<i>n</i>)
	White	Asian	Hispanic	Black	
White	29	19	39	14	100 (<i>n</i> =70)
Asian/ Pacific Islander	38	15	31	15	100 (<i>n</i> =13)
Mexican American/Hispanic	33	19	29	19	100 (<i>n</i> =21)
Total Sample % (<i>n</i>)	31 (<i>n</i> =32)	18 (<i>n</i> =19)	36 (<i>n</i> =37)	15 (<i>n</i> =16)	100 (<i>N</i> =104)

C. Cross Tabulation of Ethnicity by Assignment of the Score 80 Points

Ethnicity	Score 80 Points for Test				%(<i>n</i>)
	White	Asian	Hispanic	Black	
White	19	24	19	39	100 (<i>n</i> =70)
Asian/ Pacific Islander	15	38	15	31	100 (<i>n</i> =13)
Mexican American/ Hispanic	14	29	24	33	100 (<i>n</i> =21)
Total Sample % (<i>n</i>)	17 (<i>n</i> =18)	27 (<i>n</i> =28)	19 (<i>n</i> =20)	37 (<i>n</i> =38)	100 (<i>N</i> =104)

(table continues)

Table 9 (*continued*).D. *Cross Tabulation of Ethnicity by Assignment of the Score 70 Points*

Ethnicity	Score 70 Points for Test				%
	White	Asian	Hispanic	Blacks	
White	33	16	20	31	100 (n=70)
Asian/Pacific Islander	23	0	39	39	100 (n=13)
Mexican American/ Hispanics	29	10	33	29	100 (n=21)
Total % (n)	31 (n=32)	12 (n=13)	25 (n=26)	32 (n=33)	100 (N=104)

In terms of test scores, Asians were considered most intelligent; with Hispanics coming in second. Blacks had the highest percentage in the third and lowest test scores. Whites did not have the highest percentage in any category. Among the Mexican American/Hispanic participants, the Hispanic doll/action figure had the highest percentage when it came to the assignment of the score 70 points. Mexican American/Hispanic children saw Asians as the most intelligent.

Table 10

*Cross Tabulation: Food Preference*A. *Cross Tabulation of Ethnicity by White Food Preference*

Ethnicity	White Food Preference				%
	Hamburger	Egg Roll	Fajitas	Fried Chicken	
White	46	6	38	10	100 (n=69)
Asian/ Pacific Islander	70	7	15	7	100 (n=13)
Mexican American/ Hispanic	52	10	29	10	100 (n=21)
Total Sample % (n)	50 (n=52)	7(n=7)	33 (n=34)	10 (n=10)	100 (N=103)

(table continues)

Table 10 (*continued*).*B. Cross Tabulation of Ethnicity by Asian Food Preference*

Ethnicity	Asian Food Preference				% (n)
	Hamburger	Egg Roll	Fajitas	Fried Chicken	
White	23	28	32	17	100 (n=69)
Asian/ Pacific Islander	8	54	31	8	100 (n=13)
Mexican American/ Hispanic	24	33	24	19	100 (n=21)
Total Sample % (n)	21 (n=22)	32 (n=33)	30 (n=31)	17 (n=17)	100 (N=103)

C. Cross Tabulation of Ethnicity by Hispanic Food Preference

Ethnicity	Hispanic Food Preference				% (n)
	Hamburger	Egg Roll	Fajitas	Fried Chicken	
White	22	28	35	16	100 (n=69)
Asian/ Pacific Islander	15	15	54	15	100 (n=13)
Mexican American/ Hispanic	10	10	52	29	100 (n=21)
Total Sample % (n)	18 (n=19)	22 (n=23)	41 (n=42)	18 (n=19)	100 (N=103)

D. Cross Tabulation of Ethnicity by Black Food Preference

Ethnicity	Black Food Preference				% (n)
	Hamburger	Egg Roll	Fajitas	Fried Chicken	
White	19	26	19	36	100 (n=69)
Asian/ Pacific Islander	15	23	23	38	100 (n=13)
Mexican American/Hispanic	29	24	24	24	100 (n=21)
Total Sample % (n)	20 (n=21)	25 (n=26)	20 (n=21)	34 (n=35)	100 (N=103)

Table 11

*Cross Tabulation: Sports Preference**A. Cross Tabulation of Ethnicity by White Sports Preference*

Ethnicity	White Sports Preference				%
	Tennis	Karate	Soccer	Basketball	(n)
White	30	20	42	7	100 (n=69)
Asian/Pacific Islander	46	8	38	8	100 (n=13)
Mexican American/Hispanic	48	19	14	19	100 (n=21)
Total Sample % (n)	36 (n=37)	18 (n=19)	36 (n=37)	10 (n=10)	100 (N=103)

B. Cross Tabulation of Ethnicity by Asian Sports Preference

Ethnicity	Asian Sports Preference				%
	Tennis	Karate	Soccer	Basketball	(n)
White	15	49	19	17	100 (n=69)
Asian/Pacific Islander	15	54	23	8	100 (n=13)
Mexican American/Hispanic	14	48	24	14	100 (n=21)
Total Sample % (n)	15 (n=15)	50 (n=51)	20 (n=21)	16 (n=16)	100 (N=103)

C. Cross Tabulation of Ethnicity by Hispanic Sports Preference

Ethnicity	Hispanic Sports Preference				%
	Tennis	Karate	Soccer	Basketball	(n)
White	22	22	32	25	100 (n=69)
Asian/Pacific Islander	31	23	39	8	100 (n=13)
Mexican American/Hispanic	24	14	33	29	100 (n=21)
Total Sample % (n)	23 (n=24)	20 (n=21)	33 (n=34)	23 (n=24)	100 (N=103)

(table continues)

Table 11 (*continued*).*D. Cross Tabulation of Ethnicity by Black Sports Preference*

Ethnicity	Black Sports Preference				% (n)
	Tennis	Karate	Soccer	Basketball	
White	30	12	23	35	100 (n=69)
Asian/Pacific Islander	8	0	23	69	100 (n=13)
Mexican American/Hispanic	19	14	33	33	100 (n=21)
Total Sample % (n)	25 (n=26)	11(n=11)	25 (n=26)	39 (n=40)	100 (N=103)

Table 12

*Choice of Marriage Partners**A. Cross Tabulation of Ethnicity by Marriage Partner for White Doll/Action Figure*

Ethnicity	Marriage Partner for White Doll/Action Figure				% (n)
	White	Asian	Hispanic	Black	
White	54	10	30	6	100 (n=70)
Asian/ Pacific Islander	62	8	23	8	100 (n=13)
Mexican American/Hispanic	52	29	14	5	100 (n=21)
Total Sample % (n)	55(n=57)	13 (n=14)	26 (n=27)	6 (n=6)	100 (N=104)

B. Cross Tabulation of Ethnicity by Marriage Partner for Asian Doll/Action Figure

Ethnicity	Marriage Partner for Asian Doll/Action Figure				% (n)
	White	Asian	Hispanic	Black	
White	13	63	20	4	100 (n=70)
Asian/ Pacific Islander	0	77	23	0	100 (n=13)
Mexican American/ Hispanic	24	38	33	5	100 (n=21)
Total Sample % (n)	14 (n=14)	60 (n=62)	23 (n=24)	4 (n=4)	100 (N=104)

(table continues)

Table 12 (*continued*).*C. Cross Tabulation of Ethnicity by Marriage Partner for Hispanic Doll/Action Figure*

Ethnicity	Marriage Partner for Hispanic Doll/Action Figure				% (n)
	White	Asian	Hispanic	Black	
White	27	20	47	6	100 (n=70)
Asian/ Pacific Islander	31	8	61	0	100 (n=13)
Mexican American/ Hispanic	19	29	52	0	100 (n=21)
Total Sample % (n)	26 (n=27)	20 (n=21)	50 (n=52)	4 (n=4)	100 (N=104)

D. Cross Tabulation of Ethnicity by Marriage Partner for Black Doll/Action Figure

Ethnicity	Marriage Partner for Black Doll/Action Figure				% (n)
	White	Asian	Hispanic	Black	
White	4	6	4	86	100 (n=70)
Asian/ Pacific Islander	8	8	0	85	100 (n=13)
Mexican American/ Hispanic	0	10	0	90	100 (n=21)
Total Sample % (n)	4 (n=4)	7 (n=7)	3 (n=3)	87 (n=90)	100 (N=104)

Though children did not reflect the social stereotypes regarding social hierarchy and intelligence, they did assign food, sports and marriage preferences according to ethnic lines. This was an indication that children were aware of social stereotypes in society. When it came to marriage selection, however, marriage across ethnic lines appeared least for the Black doll and action figure, with 87% of the sample pairing the Black doll and action figure as a couple.

Analysis of Data Gathered from Interviews and Parent's Survey

Table 13

Means of Stereotype Formation, Ethnic Preference, and Self-Esteem Score of Total Sample

Ethnicity	Stereotype Formation Score	Ethnic Preference Score	Self-Esteem Score
Total Sample	3.0	10	14
White	2.7	9.5	13.5
Asian/Pacific Islander	4.2	11.2	13.8
Mexican American/Hispanic	3	9.7	13.6

The mean for Stereotype Formations score was lower than expected. As mentioned earlier, there was a positive correlation with age and stereotype formation scores. There was no evidence to suggest ethnic ambivalence among the children. Asian/Pacific Islanders and Mexican American/Hispanic children showed a strong sense of self through their Ethnic Preference Scores. The mean of the Ethnic Preference scores for all groups were almost equal, with Asians/Pacific Islanders slightly higher. White children showed greater preference to other ethnic groups. Preference to others was due more to admiration than self-rejection, as White children had a good sense of their ethnic identity, and had self-esteem scores comparable to the other groups. In terms of self-esteem, the mean of the Self-Esteem scores for all groups were almost equal.

Table 14

Cross Tabulation of Ethnicity by Doll/Action Figure I Love to Play with Best

Ethnicity	Doll/Action Figure I Love to Play with Best				%
	White	Asian	Hispanic	Black	
White	19	43	23	16	100 (n=70)
Asian/Pacific Islander	15	46	23	15	100 (n=13)
Mexican American/Hispanic	5	48	33	14	100 (n=21)
Total Sample % (n)	15 (n=16)	44 (n=46)	25 (n=26)	15 (n=16)	100 (N=104)

Table 15

Cross Tabulation of Ethnicity by Doll/Action Figure That Is Most Attractive

Ethnicity	Doll/Action Figure That is Most Attractive				%
	White	Asian	Hispanic	Black	
White	23	30	28	19	100 (n=69)
Asian/Pacific Islander	15	69	15	0	100 (n=13)
Mexican American/Hispanic	33	24	19	24	100 (n=21)
Total Sample % (n)	24 (n=25)	34 (n=35)	24 (n=25)	18 (n=18)	100 (N=103)

Table 16

Cross Tabulation of Ethnicity and Doll/Action Figure I Resemble Most With

Ethnicity	Doll/Action Figure I Resemble Most With				%
	White	Asian	Hispanic	Black	
White	49	9	36	6	100 (n=69)
Asian/ Pacific Islander	8	61	23	8	100 (n=13)
Mexican American/ Hispanic	0	43	38	19	100 (n=21)
Total Sample % (n)	34 (n=35)	22 (n=23)	35 (n=36)	9 (n=9)	100 (N=103)

In terms of play preference, children preferred to play with the Asian doll/action figure most often, with Hispanics coming in second. This was also the case when it came to the doll/action figure that was most attractive. As for self identification, children identified themselves across ethnic lines. Only half of the White participants identified themselves with the White doll/action figure. The majority of the other half identified themselves with the Hispanic and Asian dolls and action figures. In the case of the Mexican American/Hispanic children, majority preferred to play and self identified with the Asian doll/action figure, and found the White doll/action figure most attractive.

Table 17

Correlation Matrix for Ethnic Preference Score, Self-Esteem Score, Stereotype Formation Score, and Family Income

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Ethnic Preference Score	1.0			
Self-Esteem Score	.088	1.0		
Stereotype Formation Score	.037	.052	1.0	
Family Income	-.105	.024	.066	1.0

Note. None of the correlations were statistically significant.

In terms of ethnic preference and self-esteem, correlation between the two variables was statistically insignificant. Similarly, there was no significant relationship between self-esteem and family income level. Children from the lower income strata showed just as strong Self-Esteem scores compared to their higher income counterparts. The relationship between stereotype formation and self-esteem was not significant.

Likewise, the relationship between the variables ethnic preference and stereotype formation was not statistically significant. Family income did not have a relationship with stereotype formation and ethnic preference scores. Though variables like environment, and racial composition had an effect as to who children intermingled with, it appeared that there were other variables that played a role as to how children saw other ethnic groups.

Quantitative Analysis Relevant to Research Hypothesis 1

This section details quantitative analysis in line with the research Hypothesis 1, with emphasis restricted to Mexican Americans/Hispanic and Whites. Handicapped by the small sample size, the lack of Mexican American/Hispanic participants, and parental feedback from the surveys, this research was restricted to running basic statistical tests in order to salvage any relevant quantitative data.

Table 18

Correlation Matrix of Ethnic Identity Preference, Self-Esteem, and Stereotype Formation scores of the Mexican American/Hispanic sample

	(1)	(2)	(3)
Ethnic Identity Preference Score	1.0		
Self-Esteem Score	-.11	1.0	
Stereotype Formation Score	-.24	.19	1.0

Note. No significant correlations.

With regards to the Mexican American/Hispanic sample, correlation between the variables Ethnic Identity Preference Score, Self-Esteem score, and Stereotype Formation score yielded no significant relationship. The data would suggest that the self-esteem and stereotype

formation of Mexican American/Hispanic children had little or no effect on their ethnic identification and preference.

Table 19

Two-Sampled Independent t-Test on Stereotype Formation, Self-Esteem, and Ethnic Preference Scores of Whites and Mexican American/Hispanic Participants

	<i>White</i>	<i>Mexican American/Hispanic</i>	<i>Significance Level</i>
Ethnic Identity			
Preference			
Score	9.5	9.7	.73
Mean			
Self-Esteem			
Score	13.5	13.6	.91
Mean			
Stereotype			
Formation			
Score	2.7	3.0	.53
Mean			

Note. No significant correlations.

Comparisons of the means of all three variables indicate that the means between Mexican Americans/Hispanics and Whites are almost equal for all three variables. Two-sampled independent *t*-test indicated no levels of significance.

The maximum possible or maximum observed Self-Esteem score was 16, while the Stereotype Formation and Ethnic Identity Preference Score 8 and 16 respectively. In reference to the research hypotheses, the anticipated mean for the Ethnic Identity Preference Score was 12 for Whites and 8⁵⁴ for Mexican Americans/Hispanics. As for the Self-Esteem score, the anticipated means for Whites and Mexican Americans/Hispanics was at 12 and 8⁵⁵ respectively. In terms of

⁵⁴ This was based on the assumption that Mexican American/Hispanic children will prefer their ethnicity less than Whites.

⁵⁵ This was based on the assumption that the self-esteem of Mexican American/Hispanic children will be lower compared to Whites children.

the Stereotype Formation score, the expected mean for Whites were 6 and Mexican Americans/Hispanics 4.⁵⁶

Quantitative findings reveal that the Whites and Mexican Americans/Hispanics scored lower than expected when it came to Stereotype Formation. Ethnic Identification Preference scores were higher for Mexican Americans and lower for Whites. With regards to Self-Esteem scores both Whites and Mexican Americans score higher than expected. The means of all scores for both groups were practically equal.

Summary

This chapter has highlighted quantitative analysis of the entire sample, and variables of interest in relation to the research hypotheses. Handicapped by the limited sample size of the desired population and the lack of parental response, quantitative analysis was limited. Based on the information gathered, there is no relationship between the variables Self-Esteem, Ethnic Identity Preference, and Stereotype Formation scores. There is also no difference in the means of all scores between Mexican Americans/Hispanic and Whites. Chapter 5 will detail the qualitative analysis, with Chapter 6 bringing together both the quantitative and qualitative results.

⁵⁶ This was based on the assumption that Mexican American/Hispanic children will have lower Stereotype formation than White children.

CHAPTER 5

FINDINGS OF QUALITATIVE DATA ANALYSIS

Introduction

This chapter details qualitative analysis of both the children's interviews and parent's survey. The first section provides an overview of the story construction exercise, while the second examines the qualitative findings from a child development perspective. The third section details the different types of casting directors. The fourth describes the different types of parents, and the differences and similarities between liberal and conservative parents. The fifth section details gender differences between participants, and the sixth, seventh and eighth sections describe the types of White, Mexican American, and Asian American participants respectively. The ninth and tenth sections cover food selection according to and across ethnic lines; with the eleventh and twelfth sections sports selection. The chapter concludes with a summary.

Story Construction Overview

Children no longer reinforced stereotypes in social hierarchy, intelligence, and marriage selection. Children treated play preference, self identification, and attractiveness as separate components in their social cognition. It was common for children to identify themselves with one doll/action figure, prefer to play with another, and select the third doll as most attractive. Many experimented with different roles, and paired couples across ethnic lines. Though the majority selected food and sports preference according to ethnic lines, many crossed foods and sports selection with ethnicity. It was clear that children practiced greater ego fluidity compared to those of the Clark and Clark (1947) experiment.

Child Development

Among the children, three general types emerged which reinforced Piaget's theory of cognitive development. Children interviewed for this study were at the pre-operational, concrete operational, and formal operational stages.

Players were younger children between the ages of 3 to 7 at the pre-operational stage of Piaget's model. They were the most animated of the three categories, and understood that each doll and action figure represented the different races. They personified the dolls and action figures, and some went to the extreme of treating the dolls as real. For example, one girl, upon accidentally dropping a doll on the floor, apologized profusely to the doll. Another after dropping the doll asked the doll if she was okay.

Contact with the dolls and action figures were high. They spent most of their time playing and moving the dolls and action figures around. One tied up the hair of a doll into a pony tail, while another sat the dolls and action figures up. A 7-year-old boy pulled the noses of the action figures, while a 4-year-old girl banged the dolls and action figures together.

Conversation with the researcher, interest in story construction, and emphasis on order and procedures was minimal. Players generally answered questions by handing the action figure or doll of their choice. The researcher would then hand the doll or action figure back to the child who would then reengage in play. The researcher would wait for awhile before asking the next question. Interviewing the Players was most enjoyable.

Those who fell under the category of *Arranger* were children from 8 to 11 years old, at the concrete operational stage of Piaget's model. There was acute attention to details, and things had to move in a logical progression. Conversation with the researcher and emphasis to order and procedure was high. For instance, a 7-year-old boy, and an 8-year-old girl made sure that all the

dolls and action figures were in line before beginning the interview. Another girl made sure that the researcher numbered the questions before proceeding:

Researcher: Let's move on to the next question.

Child: Is this question 3 or 4?

Researcher: This is the fourth question.

Child: Then you must say question number 4.

Attention to details was an outstanding characteristic for the Arranger. They were sticklers to rules and procedures, and must see a pattern to the scheme of things. Otherwise, they appeared upset and discombobulated. Arrangers had medium interest in the story construction and contact with the dolls and action figures.

Pointers were older children above the age of 11 at the formal operations stage of Piaget's model. They were more interested in story construction, and used hypothetical concepts and situations well. They were interested in the theme of the story, and liked to manipulate situations to make the story more interesting. For example, one participant deliberately paired an interracial couple stating that there would be more drama to the story. Another found Asians unattractive as she felt that they were too skinny to be healthy. Her exact words were "they look so thin to the point of breaking," showing that she could think using hypothetical and abstract concepts.

Contact with the dolls and action figures were minimal, with emphasis on order and procedures at a moderate level. Conversation with the researcher was moderate compared to the two other categories. Lack of touch may be due to the fact that they were no longer interested in dolls and action figures.

Casting Directors

As the participants were told that they were playing the role of casting directors, three general types emerged from the interviews: the Story Writer, the Ritualist, and the Aesthetic Director, which compliments Piaget's theory of cognitive development.

Aesthetic Directors were younger children between the ages of 2 to 7 years at the pre-operational stage of Piaget's model. Choices were based on matching colors, hair etc. Asked as to why they paired couples together, they would say that they look good together as their hair and skin color matched. Asked as to why they made those choices, answers would be "they look good together," "they match," or "they have the same color."

The Ritualists were those at the concrete operational stage. They wanted to "get the job" done. They answered questions systematically and did not place high priority on the story line. Attention to aesthetics was moderate and procedures high. There had to be a logical progression to things, otherwise the interview could not proceed. One participant insisted that the researcher mention the question number before proceeding, while another insisted that the dolls and action figure be put in order before proceeding.

Story Writers were generally participants above the age of 11 years at the formal operations stage of Piaget's model. Emphasis on the story line was most important. Attention to aesthetics was low and attention to procedures medium. How the story will turn out and as to how and why a certain choice was made was always contingent to the story line. Story Writers looked at the whole picture and did not answer questions individually. They tend to look at the "forest rather than the trees" and tied their decision to a cohesive whole.

One participant reconsidered her decision by asking what her answer to the previous question was. She subsequently made her decision based on the answer she previously provided.

She said that things should flow together. Another deliberately paired a mixed couple for marriage preference stating that it would make a more interesting story with plots and subplots. Subsequent decisions were based on that premise.

Reactions of Parents and Types of Parents

Reactions from parental surveys showed that race still mattered when it came to primary relationships. Concerns over the difference in cultures, value systems, religion, and socio-economic status still persist. Like in most research on race relations, this research had its share of conservative and liberal parents.

There were three main types of conservative parents who opposed interracial marriages. Concerns about cultural differences are the main focus of parents in the first category. To the Ethnic Conscious Parent, ethnic identity and the strong sense of self are most important. High priority was placed on one's culture and heritage. As culture is the building block of one's identity and sense of self, the dissolution of one's culture was unacceptable. Culture, in this case, encompasses language, religion, and tradition. They saw culture as a strong component in shaping one's identity, and perception of the world. Low priority was placed on socio-economic status, social acceptance, and interracial marriages.

A Mexican American parent stated that culture was the most important component in her child's life, as it shaped her identity. She felt that it was important for her to mix with people that shared the same values. A Mexican American father of a 7-year-old boy echoed similar sentiments:

I believe being around people of the same ethnicity allows you to focus on life and not worry about other issues. Being around people of the same culture produce stable children, especially when they can relate to their culture and heritage.

Using Cooley's looking glass model, both parents felt that it was important for their children to see positive reflections of themselves in the environment; where they can develop a strong sense of "self" with stable identities.

The challenges one might encounter in the face of mixed relationships were another concern. There was a fear that their children may not have the skills to deal with the complexities of a mixed relationship. A parent of a White child felt that his child may be ill equipped to deal with cultural differences, while another stated in no uncertain terms that it was important to date within one's ethnic group and religion. A mother of a 4-year-old girl made the following observation:

Life is difficult as it is already, and I can see it being more complicated when they marry someone outside their culture. The challenges they have to face will be difficult and I am not so sure if they know how to handle it.

Parents were also concerned about different value systems and religion. A mother of a 7-year-old boy stated the following:

Yes, I prefer that they do marry within their ethnicity, but if they did not that would be okay. In terms of religion, I have raised two children whose father was not Catholic. It would be better if both parents were of the same religion.

Several parents noted that religion provided the family with cohesion and it was important that their children do the same. From their perspective, differences in religion would make maintaining a relationship difficult.

The lack of survival skills or the know how to navigate in society may be a possible explanation for ethnic ambivalence. It was observed that biracial children had problems with their ethnic identity. A teacher made the following observation of the biracial children she has taught over the years:

Yes. I think that people should marry within their ethnic group. This is a source of contention for my biracial children as I constantly see them grapple for a definitive identity....children need to have a firm sense of who they are....

A mother of a 7-year-old Mexican American boy made the following observation regarding biracial children:

I have two nieces that are half Black. The older they get, I see that it is getting harder. They ask a lot of questions they do not understand. I would not want my grandchild to have a hard time.

It is logical to conclude that ethnic identity, to the parents, provided children a sense of self, cohesion and a common identity; which are healthy components towards the development of a child. Problems arise when a child is confronted with issues that he or she is ill equipped in handling. Hence, solidarity and a firm foundation are important.

Socioeconomic status was most important for the *Status Conscious* parent. Concern for cultural difference was low, and the need for social acceptance was at the middle of the spectrum. Opposition to interracial marriages was due to differences in class.

Parents in this category reinforced Marx's materialistic determinism, and Oscar Lewis' culture of poverty thesis. In both cases, it is material conditions that shape a person's perception of reality. As people from different classes have different ways of looking at the world, people of different socio-economic class have different needs, values, preferences, goals, and priorities. The child should have a mate who shares similar needs, values, preferences, goals, and priorities. One's child should marry up or equal, and not down. There was also a fear that their children will adapt values that is destructive to their economic well being. A parent of an 8-year-old White girl stated the following:

I am worried that she marries someone outside her race as her priorities might change. I want her to excel and do well and am afraid that someone of a different culture may have different priorities. Some cultures are not worried about excelling and doing well....

This parent was concerned that her child may be caught up in the culture of poverty if she married someone outside her race. As racial lines demarcate socio-economic status in the US, race becomes the issue. Objection to interracial marriage was based on economic reasons and not the color of the skin.

The third category of conservative parents, *Social Worrier*, worries about every aspect of life, as the need for social acceptance is high. They try to be politically correct in social matters, but strain when they do so. Conventional wisdom tells them that mixed marriages are acceptable, and that it is their child's happiness that matters. At the same time they worry about what their neighbors, friends, and colleagues would say. The treatment of future grandchildren was another source of concern.

Opposition towards interracial marriages was mixed and concerns over socio-economic status and cultural difference moderate. Social Worriers possessed the characteristics of both the Fair Weather Liberal and Passive Bigot of Robert Merton's model.

It is important to note that conservative parents were not bigots. Despite the ethnic chauvinism, their rationales were based on practical reasons. The following were four characteristics that distinguished conservative parents from their liberal counterparts.

1. They are all opposed to mixed marriages
2. They are realistic more than idealistic
3. They are skeptical of the value changes in society
4. There is a constant fear of a backlash

Liberal parents, like their conservative counterparts, varied. Though none of the participants in this category objected to interracial marriages, their rationales differed. All three categories believed in the American Creed: liberty, equality, and freedom, though they all stood

at different points of the spectrum. Of the three categories, the *Realist*, *Humanist*, and the *Centrist*, it is the Humanist who resembles Robert Merton's All Weather Liberal. Concerns over race were present in the Realist and Centrist.

The Realist appeared most conservative, looking at race and ethnic relations from a practical perspective. The Realist, however, was the most logical of all three. They looked at the challenges of interracial marriages, the problems brought about by the difference in culture, and their children's acumen to deal with the adversities ahead of them. The Realist, however, has faith and is willing to support their children. They will openly admit that they have prejudices, acknowledge that it is wrong, and are trying to work on it:

Don't care for the most part as long as the person is good to her and responsible for himself. Although I do confess some prejudice towards Muslims. I am trying to work on getting past any ill feelings towards that race.

The Humanist is an idealist: one tied to principles and beliefs, and practices absolute morality. They remain true to their ideals and steadfast irrespective of the circumstances. Of all liberal parents, the Humanist was most liberal. When it comes to judgment on the individual based on the content of character, and belief in the American Creed; the Humanist ranks the highest of all three. The Humanist, however, ranked the lowest when it comes to looking at the practical aspects of ethnic relations.

The Humanist would agree to mixed marriages as long as their children are happy. How long the relationship will last, the possible challenges ahead, cultural differences are not issues. Humanists would argue that love would conquer all and break cultural barriers between people. A mother of a 9-year-old White girl wrote the following on her survey: "Cultural difference can be difficult and is a challenge. Love, however, is a powerful thing and conquers all problems. As

long as they love each other, it is important.” A Mexican American mother of a 7-year-old boy stated: “As long as my children are happy, I am happy for them.”

The Humanist values principles over reason. They deal with challenges as they come, and at times are unprepared. A White mother of a biracial child, who is now divorced from her husband, noted the following: “I feel it will be their choice and will support them either way. However, by experience I know that things can be difficult.” She spoke from experience, while at the same time remained true to her principles. Despite the challenges she has faced, she maintained her ideals.

The Centrist, as the name implies, “straddles in the middle.” They are ambivalent when it comes to race and ethnic relations. Unsure of the American Creed, they choose to follow conventional wisdom. People in this category understand the complexities of race and ethnic relations but will deny its existence. They often use phrases like “I’m color blind” or “People are people.” Like the Realist, the Centrist shares the same apprehensions society place on mixed couples, but will not openly acknowledge it. Several parents have said that they have no preference as to whom their children may marry, but worry as to how society would treat them. At the same time, they acknowledged that value systems have changed, and that makes them optimistic of the future. The mother of a 7-year-old illustrates this:

Things have changed over the years and we do not have the same attitudes of the past. People are people and they should be treated the same. I worry for my child, but her decision to marry is hers and not mine.

It is hard to distinguish the difference between conservative and liberal parents. Their logic and reasons behind their views appear to overlap and at times compliment one another. Three distinguishing characteristics, however, set liberal parents apart from their conservative counterparts:

1. They all had no problems with mixed marriages
2. They realize that value systems have changed
3. They are willing to accept the changes with their children

Liberal parents, unlike their conservative counterparts, were willing to “roll the dice” and take their chances. Faith was placed on their children, realizing that society is no longer the way it was. Most important, however, liberal parents were willing to accept the changes with their children.

Types of Participants

Types of White Participants

Three types of White participants emerged from the interviews: *Cultural Adventurer*, *Cultural Conservative*, and *Cultural Convert*.

The Cultural Conservative had strong stereotype formation with strong ethnic preference from one's group. The concept of beauty outside one's ethnicity was weak, along with one's identification outside one's ethnic group. Marriage selection strictly adhered to ethnic lines. Cultural Conservatives had a strong sense of ethnic identification. They represented their ethnic group well, placing themselves at the highest position and portraying characteristics of their group positively. The Cultural Conservative, however, was not negative towards other groups.

The Cultural Adventurer was one who broke boundaries and experimented in areas that defied social norms. An 8-year-old girl said that “people should try different things in order to learn from others.” They had moderate stereotype formation, concept of beauty outside one's ethnicity, and identification outside one's ethnicity. Concept towards interracial marriages was moderate as well.

Though the Cultural Adventurers broke boundaries, they remained ambivalent about their position. They were unsure as to why they make their choices, but at the same time, derived satisfaction from doing something different. Cultural Adventurer's, unlike the Cultural Conservative, was willing to experiment. They were willing to take risks without knowing the repercussions, as the following dialogue with a 9-year-old participant illustrates:

- Researcher: Which of the following Action Figures will you choose as the person 1st in charge at the workplace?
- Participant: I choose the Black GI Joe as the one in charge.
- Researcher: Why did you make this choice?
- Participant: I don't know...just choosing. I would like to try something different.

The Cultural Convert had weak stereotype formation and strong concepts of beauty outside one's ethnicity, strong identification with other ethnic groups, and entertains mixed marriages with enthusiasm. They showed no signs of ethnic ambivalence, as all had a firm sense of who they were. *Cultural Converts* do not hate their Anglo culture, but saw value in others. A 10-year-old girl of a local surgeon openly admitted that she loved the Asian culture and look. She found Asian characteristics exotic, and models her concept of beauty accordingly. She loved the Asian tan, long straight hair, and facial features. This was reinforced by her story construction answers. All her choices portrayed Asians at the highest level of the social hierarchy, and interview with her 6-year-old sister reinforced the same. In an informal conversation with their mother, she informed me that they have brought up their children to see value in others, while at the same time be proud of their heritage. Self-esteem scores of both girls were high.

Types of Mexican American Participants

Three types of Mexican American participants emerged: *the Ethnic Adventurer*, *the Proud Ethnic*, and *the Over Assimilated*.

The Ethnic Adventurer shows preference to other groups. Their preference to others, however, was not symptomatic of ethnic ambivalence. As the ethnic identities of younger children are not fully developed, they may be unsure of whom they are and the social significance their of ethnic group holds. Preference to others may be due to ego fluidity, experimentation and role playing, and not ambivalence.

Preference may not necessary be that of the dominant culture. An 8-year-old girl stated that she wished she could be like the researcher. She felt that Asians were intelligent and attractive, and wished be one. Despite her preference, she showed no signs of self hatred and had a high self-esteem score. It was later discovered that the girl had a crush on the researcher's son, who was her classmate.

It was surprising to find Proud Ethnics among the children. They showed great ethnic pride. There was passion in their answers, and a sense of urgency. Their self-esteem scores were high, and showed little preference to ethnic groups outside one's own. Those who showed tendencies of the Proud Ethnic were first or second generation immigrants, with one of mixed heritage (father Mexican American and mother White). His father is a second generation immigrant, while his mother's family has been part of the community for generations. The most important demarcation of their ethnic pride was best manifested by the use of their language and the emotions behind each answer; as the following dialogues illustrate:

Researcher: Are you Mexican American?

Child 1: Yes....and I am proud of it.

Researcher: Why did you choose the Hispanic GI Joe as the one first in charge of the workplace?

Child 2: Because Hispanics are smart. The others are not as clever.

Researcher: Which sport would this Hispanic doll be best at? Is it Tennis, Karate, Soccer, or Basketball?

Child 3: Soccer. Mexicans are best in the world. Hope Mexico wins the World Cup.⁵⁷

The Over Assimilated, as the name implies, are those who are over assimilated and reject their own culture. Assimilation was viewed as a symbol of mobility, and one's cultural heritage demarcated backwardness. Though none of the children showed extreme forms of this phenomenon, symptoms appeared.

A child identified himself as "American" as he no longer spoke Spanish, though he has a Spanish surname. Looking at his background, his family is a prominent Mexican American family who has been in the community before the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (1848). The family has assimilated fully and has married prominent White members of the community. They held key positions in the community. Though some members of his family showed physical characteristics of Mexican Americans, they spoke fluent English with a Texas drawl. This reinforced the linear model of acculturation and Richardson's (1999) research findings where the greater the assimilation, the less important it was for one to be connected with one's heritage.

Another child of mixed heritage identified herself in no uncertain terms that she was White despite the fact that her father was Mexican American: "My father is Mexican and my mother White. I am White because my mother is White. Daddy does not live with us anymore, but I do visit him once in awhile."

⁵⁷ This interview was conducted a few months before the 2006 FIFA World Cup.

The child's answer was multi-faceted. Her rejection of her Mexican heritage may be due to the fact that her father no longer lives with her and not ethnic ambivalence. As she now lives with her mother, she identifies herself with her mother though her physical features reveal her Mexican heritage. This, of course, may lead to confusion in the future.

Types of Asian American Participants

From the Asian American participants, three general types emerged from the interviews: the *Culturally Aware*, the *Cultural Enthusiast*, and the *Culturally Unaware*.

The Culturally Aware knew their ethnic identity, but not necessarily interested in the discovery of one's cultural heritage. They have a firm sense of self, and their self-esteem was high. There was a moderate possibility of self-rejection, though it was unlikely. An Asian Indian girl, who was adopted by an American family, mentioned the following when asked about her ethnicity:

I was born in India, but my mother adopted me. India is a country rich in culture. I am in America now, and I speak English. Someday I will visit India. I don't speak the language. Maybe I'll learn someday.

Cultural Enthusiasts were those highly aware of their ethnicity, with high need for cultural discovery. There was low probability of self-rejection. Self-esteem was high, and there was a sense of urgency to relearn one's culture. Some would call this the "rebound generation." For example a 10-year-old Chinese American boy stated the following:

I am Chinese. I do not speak Chinese but I want to learn. My mom is sending me to Chinese classes at Richardson. I love going to Asia. It is really a beautiful place. I want to go to China one day to see where my ancestors come from.

The Culturally Unaware was one with low awareness of one's ethnicity, but with high self-esteem. The need for cultural rediscovery was minimal though it may change in the future.

For example, a Korean American child said the following:

My mother comes from Korea, but I was born here. I do not speak Korean nor have I visited the country. My mother tells me that I have cousins there. Perhaps, one day I will learn to speak Korean. I can say hello in Korean though.

Gender Differences

Between genders, girls provided more information and explanations. They were expressive, animated, and enthusiastic. Girls from the pre-operation to concrete operational stages displayed greater maturity than their male counterparts. Boys gave simple answers like “just choosing,” “just picking,” “I don’t know,” while girls provided logical explanations.

An 8-year-old White girl provided the following answer when she paired the White doll with the Black action figure in marriage selection: “My parents told me never to marry a Black man, but I believe that different people should mix.” An 8-year-old Mexican American girl added the following when she made all her food selection across ethnic lines: “I believe that people should try different things....in that way, they can learn and appreciate things from other cultures.”

Girls were more sensitive on social issues. They also had better comprehension of the complexities of multicultural relationships. Their social awareness was clearly ahead, and this was evident among all ages. Girls were also more adventurous in breaking social boundaries, practicing ego fluidity, making selections across ethnic lines, and pairing interracial couples are just some of the many examples. In terms of racial attitudes, girls were generally more liberal than boys.

Food Selection

Food Selection according to Ethnic Lines

Characterization, Ethnic Assignment, and Personal Preferences are three main reasons as to why children assigned food selection along ethnic lines.

Characterization, as the title implies, dealt with the characterization of the doll or action figure in question. As children were asked to play the role of casting director, they were to select the doll that best fits the role. Explanation as to why the selection was made was based on the storyline: “She likes to eat hamburgers,” “he likes fried chicken” and “she likes fajitas best” are some of the reasons as to why the selection was made. Personal preference and attention to social stereotypes were not important in this case.

Selection via Ethnic Assignment placed high criteria on social stereotypes. Choices adhered strictly to ethnic lines and attention to story line and personal preference to a food was not important. Upon being asked as to why the selections were made, “Black people like fried chicken,” “Mexicans like fajitas,” “White people eat hamburgers,” and “Asians eat egg rolls” were common answers.

Selection based on Personal Preference, dealt with the child’s favorite food. A child, in this case, assigned his or her favorite food to all four characters. Hence, food selection according to ethnic lines occurred at least once. For example, a child may assign egg rolls to all four dolls regardless of the doll or action figure’s ethnicity. Upon being asked as to why the selections were made, “I like fried chicken,” “I like egg rolls” and “I love fajitas” were some of the answers.

Food Selection across Ethnic Lines

In terms of food selection across ethnic lines, choices were based on experimentation,

personal preference, characterization of the doll or action figure, and ethnicity.

The *Experimenter* experiments beyond social boundaries. Strong attention was paid on the storyline. Personal preference and attention to social stereotypes were minimal. Upon being asked as to why the selections were made, “People should try new food every time,” “I would like to see people choose different things,” “I would like to see people of different cultures try different things,” and “It is good for people to try new food” are some of the answers provided.

Choices based on *Personal Preference* were obvious. Selection was based on the child’s favorite food. The greater the exposure to cultural cuisines, the more likely the child is to appreciate food of other cultures. Those who showed preference to others did so due to exposure.

Characterization dealt with the personification of the character in question. As children saw the dolls and action figures as actors and actresses in an adventure story, some children stuck to their role as casting directors. Attention was placed on the storyline and choices were based on the character and not the child. Some children crossed social boundaries through the characters.

Choices based on *Ethnic Assignment* were strongly based on ethnicity, but the rationales behind the choices varied. Social boundaries and stereotypes were broken, with little attention on story line and personal preference. As to the reasons behind their choices, “White people like fajitas,” “Black people like egg rolls,” and “Mexicans like fried chicken” were some of the answers provided.

Sports Selection

Sports Selection according to Ethnic Lines

There were four domains for sport selection according to ethnic lines: character’s

Physical Prowess, Behavioral Characteristics of character, *Social Stereotypes*, and *Personal Preference* to a sport.

Choice was based on the character's Physical Prowess or assigned ability. The child would say that the character was toughest, the quickest, or the strongest. Personal participation of the sport in question and attention to societal stereotypes was not important.

Attention to storyline was important when assignment was based on the doll or action figure's Behavioral Characteristics. They may or may not pay attention to social stereotypes, and this was contingent on the individual. For example, a child said that Asian girls were best at Karate due to the fact that they practice hard and listen to their teacher. Here, she reinforced the positive stereotypes of Asians as hardworking and obedient. Another said that Blacks were best at basketball due to the fact that they practice and work hard in improving the game. Personal preference or participation of the sport was minimal.

Choice contingent on Personal Preference dealt with the child's favorite sport. The child applied the same sport to all ethnic groups indiscriminately. Upon being asked the reasons behind the selections, "I like soccer," "I like tennis," and "I like Karate" were some of the answers provided.

Sports Selection across Ethnic Lines

Sports selections across ethnic lines were as follows: *Physical Prowess*, *Non Stereotypical Exposure*, and *Personal Preference*.

Selection based on Physical Prowess was based on the characterization assigned to the doll or action figure. Reasons behind the choices are as follows: "He is the strongest," "He is most skillful," and "She is quickest."

Non Stereotypical Exposure dealt with selection based on non stereotypical exposure of the media. For example, a child assigned the Asian action figure as best at basketball due to the fact that he was the tallest, making reference to Yao Ming. Another child assigned tennis to the Black doll, stating that Blacks are best at Tennis. Upon asking her as to how this was the case, she said that she saw Black ladies playing tennis and winning: reference to the Williams sisters.

In terms of Personal Preference to a sport, the child applies the same sport to all ethnic groups indiscriminately, when it came to assigning the sport based on personal preference. Reasons behind the selections reflect personal preference to the sport like “Soccer is my favorite sport...I am good at it.”

Qualitative data analysis to this point isolated several themes and behavioral patterns of children and parents. It was clear that the general attitudes of parents and children contrasted, indicating a generational difference between the two. Children practiced greater ego fluidity and were willing to test their knowledge of other groups more freely than their parents. Though environment and parental influence played a role towards children’s cognitive development, children tend to have an independent attitude towards race and ethnic relations. Open opposition to their parental attitudes was common among the children, and the key question was why.

Like in any stage of cognitive development, ethnic identity develops in stages as posited by both William Cross (1987) and Jean Phinney (1987). This study however showed that development of ethnic identity was quicker among children of today compared to their counterparts of the past. Some of the children provided adult like explanations behind their choices and their views of the world. Greater exposure of minority groups in the media and popular culture may have facilitated quicker development, but it would appear that high technology and market forces might have had a role as well.

Qualitative and quantitative analyses of the data appear to lean towards Gerhard Lenski's (2005) theory of cultural evolutionism and elements of critical theory of the Frankfurt School.

Summary

Qualitative analysis dealt with the different themes that developed from the data gathering process. From the child development perspective, the reactions and types of parents, the types of participants, and food and sports selection according to and across ethnic lines; illustrates the multi dimensions and multiplicity of elements. The next chapter entitled Discussion and Conclusion will tie both quantitative and qualitative findings together in relation to the research hypotheses.

CHAPTER 6

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Introduction

The final chapter presents a summary, discussion and conclusions of this research. The first section presents an overview of the study. The second covers the findings that refute or support the hypotheses, while the third section discusses the implications of the findings for theory construction. The next section details the limitations of the study and the implications for future research, policy and social practices. The chapter concludes with an alternative theory explaining the results of the study.

Review of the Study

A mixed model approach, encompassing aspects of survey research, experimental designs, and qualitative observations studied ethnic identity of Mexican American children. Results of the study, derived from both qualitative and quantitative data sets, did not reinforce any of the research hypotheses.

Assessment of the Findings

This research started out trying to prove a point but did otherwise. Instead of answering questions, it only succeeded in opening up more. From both quantitative and qualitative analyses, children displayed contrasting attitudes compared to their parents: an indication that parents played a declining role in their socialization. Socializing agents like schools, environment, technology, popular and market culture may have increased in significance.

Returning to William Cross' (1987) model, reference group orientations of minority children have changed according to the socio-political climate. As per Knight, Bernal, Garza and Kota (1998), schemas have changed, placing emphasis to other components of the self other than ethnic identity. If this sample is an accurate reflection of children today, it is logical to conclude that ethnic identity has taken on new dimensions. In comparison with children of the past, ethnic identity is more fluid among children today.

Contrary to what was expected, children did not reinforce any of the research hypotheses. They displayed behaviors inconsistent to the Clark and Clark (1947) experiment and replications thereafter. In terms of the research questions and hypotheses, data gathered from the research suggests the following:

1. *What are the effects of the current ethnic stratification system in society on minority children today? Are the effects of the ethnic stratification system reflected in the ethnic identification of children?*

Data gathered from this research was unable to answer the question adequately. The research question was broad and extended beyond the scope of this study. Few of the Mexican American children showed any signs of ethnic ambivalence and/or self-rejection, though some evidence suggests over assimilation with a small percentage of the sample. Children treated play preference, beauty, and self identification as separate components and did not reinforce any of the behaviors displayed by the children in the Clark and Clark (1947) experiment.

2. *Is there a relationship between one's ethnic identity and the different behavioral traits mentioned by Gordon Allport (1954)?*

Children identified themselves across racial lines and showed strong ethnic identity and appreciation to other cultures. In terms of Allport's (1954) behavioral traits, qualitative

observations revealed no evidence to support any Intropunitive and Extropunitive traits.

3. *Which of the following have the most significant effect on the ethnic identification of children?*
 - i. *Do the stereotype view and formation influenced by the larger ethnic stratification system; have an effect on one's ethnic identification?*
 - ii. *Does self-esteem as seen through the self-esteem score have an effect on the ethnic identification of children?*

Correlation analysis of Mexican American children showed no significant relationship between the variables Self-Esteem and Stereotype Formation with one's ethnic identification.

H1: *Mexican American children will score lower on the Ethnic Identification Preference Scale (EIPS) than White children.*

Data revealed that this was not the case as the mean of the EIPS, Self-Esteem, and Stereotype Formation scores for Mexican American and White children were equal.

H2: *Mexican American children will report less extropunitive ego-defense mechanism traits than White children. Extropunitive ego-defense mechanisms include the following:*

- i. *Prejudice against other groups*
- ii. *Strengthening of in-group ties*
- iii. *Enhanced striving*
- iv. *Obsessive concern and suspicion*
- v. *Slyness and cunning*
- vi. *Aggression and revolt: stealing, competitiveness, rebellion*

This was based on the assumption that people who are in the position of power will tend to displace and project their anger on groups that are in lesser position of power as mentioned in

Gordon Allport's *The Nature of Prejudice* (1954). Qualitative data analysis did not reveal any evidence to support the Extropunitive traits mentioned by Allport.

H3: *Mexican Americans will report more intropunitive ego-defense mechanisms than White children. Intropunitive ego-defense mechanisms include the following:*

- i. Denial of membership in own group*
- ii. Withdrawal and passivity*
- iii. Clowning*
- iv. Self-hate*
- v. In group aggression*
- vi. Sympathy with all victims*
- vii. Symbolic status striving*
- viii. Neuroticism*

This was based on the assumption that members who belong to groups that are not in the position of power tend to project inwards as an ego-defense mechanism as suggested by Gordon Allport in *The Nature of Prejudice* (1954). Qualitative data analysis showed that Mexican American children did not exhibit any Intropunitive ego-defense mechanisms mentioned by Allport. Instead, Mexican American children displayed strong sense of ethnic identity and self.

As seen from the discussion, data gathered from the research did not support any of the research questions and hypothesis. It was important to explain why Mexican American children had strong ethnic identification; and as to why White children did not score higher on the Ethnic Identification Preference Scale. The apparent preference of White children to other ethnic groups was intriguing. Though the ethnic stratification system has remained constant, racial attitudes have changed according to the data of this study. Children, in positions of power, admired other groups more than their own, while minority children displayed ethnic pride.

Implications of Findings for Theory Construction

Explaining the phenomenon from a Functionalist Perspective, it would appear that race relations in the US are heading in the direction of assimilation, as children reflected the attitudes of a multicultural society. Applying Milton Gordon's (1965) theory of assimilation, children have achieved greater levels of assimilation, as differences between cultures are beginning to disappear. Of the seven types of assimilation,⁵⁸ there was evidence to suggest five among Mexican American children. There was no evidence to reinforce behavioral-receptional assimilation and civic assimilation, however.

Applying Cooley's looking glass self model and symbolic interaction, one can attribute strong ethnic identification of Mexican American children to better reflections and representations of themselves in society. Symbols of the Mexican culture no longer carried social stigmas. Attitudes of the "Generalized Other" have changed and Mexican American children develop a better sense of self. Multiculturalism and greater interaction have led to the leveling of cultures: explaining why children had a greater appreciation of others; while at the same time retaining a strong sense of ethnic identity.

Goffman's dramaturgical approach reinforces this by stressing the fact that children today are social actors on a new stage. Value changes have provided new social scripts, social settings, actors, interaction rituals, and contingencies. Children have different perspectives on race relations and ethnic identity.

The outlook from a functionalist perspective is optimistic, showing evidence of greater interaction and social solidarity. Race, contrary to what some of the parents thought, no longer served as a tool in the "politics of division." Children knew the differences in ethnicity but saw

⁵⁸ Evidence from this research suggests five types of assimilation according to Gordon's (1965) theory of assimilation: cultural or behavioral assimilation, structural assimilation, marital assimilation, identificational assimilation, and attitude-receptional assimilation.

the differences as unique. Differences did not bring division, but instead curiosity. A Mexican American girl stated that people should mix and try different things in order to learn from others. Another openly opposed her parent's wishes by insisting that people of different ethnic groups should intermarry. Amidst the ethnic difference, all children identified themselves as Americans, and shared common symbols like their school, community, and country. Using Emile Durkheim's terminology in *Division of Labor* (1987), race and ethnic relations have evolved from mechanical to organic solidarity.

All is not lost, however, from the conflict perspective. The apparent "leveling of cultures" displayed by the children may be an effect of a "false consciousness" driven by the steering mechanisms of a global market, which promotes mass culture and individualistic consumerism. Critical theory, particularly the works of Herbert Marcuse and Jurgen Habermas, provide alternative explanations behind the phenomenon in question. Complementing critical theory, Gerhard Lenski's (1966) theory of technological evolutionism explains how technology influences social relationships, bringing out new values and priorities.

Herbert Marcuse (1964) argued that market forces have produced a system of totalitarianism, social control and domination. Capitalistic society had become totalitarian and monolithic. Promoted by policy makers and mass information, people now have a one-dimensional thought (Marcuse, 1964).

Mechanisms tying the individual to society have changed, and social control is anchored to the new needs. Private space, invaded by technology and consumer capitalism, integrates individuals into its world of thought and behavior. Products manipulate, indoctrinate, and promote a false consciousness immune to its own falsehood. Society reduces and absorbs oppositions, and mechanization of labor modifies the attitudes of the exploited. High culture

becomes invalidated by technological society; and individuals pay for their satisfaction by surrendering their individuality and freedom (Marcuse, 1964).

Using Marcuse's model, one can argue that advertisements and the global market have changed cultures and as to how children viewed ethnicity. In the quest of opening up the global market, greater representations of ethnic groups through advertisements and products have provided individuals with alternative points of reference. Ethnic identification is no longer contingent on the social political climate, but instead to market forces; which serve to manipulate, indoctrinate, and provide a false consciousness. The culture of individualistic consumerism has taken precedence over the importance of ethnic identity of children in a global society (Marcuse, 1964).

Keeping Freud's ego defense mechanisms alive, Marcuse (1964) argued that defense mechanisms are transferred into a different realm. Mass culture, with its propensity for sexual provocation⁵⁹ served as tools to reinforce political repression. Satisfied with their artificial sexual stimulation, people's political energy is "sublimated." Instead of being agents of change, people remain repressed and uncritical. Pleasure principles, in this case, absorb reality principles (Marcuse, 1964).

Sex provocations through video games⁶⁰ expounding violence are possible ways for children to sublimate and project any threat to their Egos and Superegos. Pleasure principles absorb reality principles through the culture of individualistic consumerism. Hence, political energy is sublimated, and children remain repressed and uncritical through a false consciousness.

Applying Habermas' theory of communicative action (1984) on the phenomenon, one can attribute the apparent cultural relativism of children to the alignment of subjective realities.

⁵⁹ This usually involves pornography and sex and violence in the movies.

⁶⁰ The video game entitled *Test Driver: The Unlimited Edition* expounds sex, violence, and consumerism. It is available to children above the age of 10.

Subjective realities are aligned through standardized language between cultures.⁶¹ Unlike the past, mental colonization has changed. Colonization is no longer by the colonial masters but instead by market forces (Habermas, 1984; 1985).

Mass cultures promoted by the global market have influenced how children see themselves in the world. Race and ethnicity has been pushed to the subconscious, replaced by the culture of individualistic consumerism. Steering mechanisms like bureaucratic and media steered subsystems have led to the “colonization of the lifeworld.” Like colonial masters coming to a tribal society, forced assimilation occurs. Humans become one-dimensional, with different cultures unified by capitalistic market forces. The global market and mass culture promote individualistic consumerism, where privatized hopes for self-actualization and self-determinism are primarily located in the act of individualistic consumerism (Habermas, 1985).

Gerhard Lenski’s (2005) theory of technological evolutionism provides further explanation as to how technology changes social relationships. Lenski argued that technology is the driving force of social evolution. New technologies alter social patterns, and create new ideologies. New ideologies with new needs and desires, replace old cultural codes. Such needs and desires are then diffused to other groups, resulting in the imposition of similar cultural and structural patterns (Lenski, 1966; Lenski, 1970; Lenski, 2005).

With the use of computers, children have wider social horizons. The use of the Internet has negated geographical proximity as a prerequisite for social relationships. Children now communicate with others miles away in real time with a similar language in cyberspace.

With the institutionalization of computers in almost every facet in social life, new culture replaces old values. The syncretism of different cultures in cyberspace and video games has led

⁶¹ This is especially true in the Internet. Common use of acronyms and symbols are standardized across culture. There are also certain decorum practiced in chat-rooms and communication via e-mail.

to the evolution of new cultures. White children learn to appreciate other cultures⁶², while at the same time; minority children see positive representations of themselves⁶³.

According to Lenski's model, children merely displayed evidence of the social cultural evolution. Computers and the Internet have become greater socializing agents, shaping the value systems of children. Combining Lenski and critical theory, the institutionalization of computers and the Internet in almost every facet in society has made it difficult to distinguish technology from market forces. Both work hand in hand, with market culture shaping demand and technology aiding the supply and distribution.

The functionalist and conflict traditions provide different perspectives on the same phenomenon. Despite the ideological differences, both would agree that racial attitudes of children have evolved, providing new dimensions to the phenomenon. Children today have greater access to information compared to previous generations. If the children of this research are good indicators of children today, it is clear that the methods of the past can no longer test children of the future adequately. An alternative theory is provided at the conclusion to explain the research findings.

Study Limitations

This research was too ambitious. It tried to answer questions in the field of race relations that are too broad and extended beyond its scope. This research may have "bitten a little bit more than it could chew." Amidst the optimism and enthusiasm, this research also confronted numerous problems and unexpected challenges. Major problems faced included but were not

⁶² Like in the game of *Mortal Combat* for example, Asian fighters generally have greater capabilities and power. Children have an advantage when they select Asian caricatures.

⁶³ This is especially true with sports video games produced by EA Sports. The latest basketball and soccer editions had Shaquille O'Neil and Thierry Henry, both Blacks, on the cover.

limited to the short data collection duration,⁶⁴ very limited access to the desired population, narrow geographical region, and the lack of parental feedback.

The duration of one year for data collection was insufficient, as gaining entrée, consent, and coordination of activities were time consuming and required great effort. There were numerous cancellations, rescheduling of appointments, and last minute withdrawals. This wasted weeks, if not months at a time.

Getting access to children representative of American society was an uphill task. It was clear that the research sample did not achieve the representative ness desired from the research population or all the feedback hoped for. Access to the desired population was denied by the public school systems, and even with institutions granting access to their children, it was difficult to gain parental consent. For those who consented, half returned their parental survey forms. Only 52 parents returned their surveys, of which 37 were Whites and 7 Mexican Americans.

Mexican American children generally came from families of the middle to upper income level, with well educated parents. Furthermore, most under the Mexican American label were biracial. Mexican American children of this sample were better assimilated and lived in social situations that were “insulated” compared to the general population⁶⁵.

Access to Mexican American children in the public school system may have yielded different results. It was the intention of the researcher to gain access to first generation immigrants, and participants from a wider income range. Handicapped by the lack of access to the desired population, this research did not have sufficient data to compare generational differences, degree of assimilation, and income as determinants to one’s ethnic identity. In short, the sample of this study was limited.

⁶⁴ I was given one year for data collection .

⁶⁵ Most of the Mexican American children came from well to do families. Hence, they may not face issues that confront lower income Mexican Americans. All spoke English fluently and some could pass for Whites.

Research of this nature should also have extended over a wider geographical area, which includes border regions. As children of border towns confront immigration issues on a daily basis, their concept of ethnic identity may be different.

There was also a suspicion that the use of the dolls and action figures was a little dated. Few recognized the GI Joe action figures and the Barbie® (Mattel, Inc, www.mattel.com) dolls, let alone played with them. Most reported a preference to computer games, which brings about another weakness of this study.

This study did not take into account market forces, popular culture, and technology as variables influencing a child's ethnic identity formation and preference. There was a suspicion that caricatures portrayed in the games children play had an effect as to how White and minority children viewed themselves. It was evident that methods of the past are no longer effective in testing the ethnic identity of children in the future. This is one possible reason why the Cronbach alpha scores for Stereotype Formations, Ethnic Preference, and Self Esteem scores were low.

Looking in retrospect, this research could have benefited more by employing the embedded design of the mixed model tradition (Cresswell & Plano Clark, 2007). This research used quantitative and qualitative methods separately and merged the information from both data sets to derive the final results. Hampered by the limited sample, this research had to resort to rudimentary quantitative analyses in order to salvage any useful data. Qualitative analysis was useful, but the information did not fully support nor compliment the quantitative data.

The embedded design, on the other hand, potentially provides more integrated information obtained from the different data types.⁶⁶ For example, this research could have started with qualitative methods. Themes and information derived from qualitative observations are then tested with quantitative methods. If data from both methods support and compliment

⁶⁶ This refers to quantitative and qualitative data sets.

one another, the results are then embedded to form a cohesive whole. Children could have been interviewed through open-ended questions on social hierarchy, stereotypes, concepts of beauty, and marriage preferences. After which, the findings of the qualitative methods could have been tested quantitatively through the doll/action figure exercise. Frequencies of the selection process can be compared with the qualitative data to see if both data sets support and compliment one another. This would have been a more effective method in studying such a difficult topic.

Recommendations

If there is one thing this research has proven, it is the fact that the social phenomenon of race and ethnicity requires further investigation. Whether the significance of race and ethnicity has declined, increased, or remained constant is contingent on the theoretical perspective one takes. Regardless of the perspective, social scientist should remain vigilant and not “pull the foot off the pedal.”

As children are our future, it is important to take into account the significance of technology and market forces as socializing agents. If greater cultural incorporation is driven by steering mechanisms of market forces and technology, the reassessment of ethnic identity is necessary in order to grapple with the challenges of the future. If the nihilistic threat is present in children at an early age, ethnic identity has taken new dimensions that were non-existent in the past: bringing out new and unanticipated challenges for the future. It is important for parents, teachers, and social scientists to be prepared and not lose focus.

When it comes to children, policy makers and educators should stay focused on multiculturalism. Educational curriculum should include representation of different cultures in non stereotypical terms. It is important that children see positive reflections of themselves in

society, and not seek representations in popular culture, computer games, and media driven by the culture of individualistic consumerism.

Tools for Educators

Like in any aspect of child development, ethnic identity develops in stages. Consistent to Piaget's model of development, qualitative analysis revealed that children recognize themselves and others in terms of race progressively. Hence, topics on race relations should be introduced in stages; otherwise, children may lose the true essence of what is taught. Furthermore, this research found that girls mature faster, are more aware of social issues, and practice greater ego fluidity compared to their male counterparts. Some of the 8-year-old girls gave adult like answers, and showed greater acumen and comprehension on multicultural relationships. Perhaps, gender differences should be taken into consideration when teaching such a sensitive topic.

Children at the concrete operational stage of Piaget's model (8- to 11-years-old) tend to have a better understanding of race and ethnic relations, and this is the age where educators should pick up momentum. Children at this age are conscious of their ethnic identity and what it represents. As mentioned earlier, academic underachievement of minority children may be a coping mechanism for poor ethnic identification and sense of self. It is important for educators to instill ethnic pride; as a strong sense of self is an important component towards a child's academic success.

Tools for Policy Makers

This research has shown that ethnic identity is multifaceted and is constantly evolving. Policy makers need to take into consideration the multiplicity of elements in making decisions

when it comes to race and ethnic relations. Solving problems with “one broad brush stroke” is myopic on a topic of such magnitude.

Policy makers should pay attention to regional differences⁶⁷ when it comes to ethnic identity formation. Such differences should be taken into consideration when it comes to instituting and proposing laws. People with different reference group orientations may have different understanding of the same phenomenon. Laws that may seem appealing to some regions may be devastating for others. For example, it is difficult to educate a Mexican American child, who resides in a border town, that “America as the land of the free,” when the child is constantly questioned by federal agents on his or her immigration status. How can a child feel integrated in society if he or she is constantly made to feel like a stranger? Policy makers need to understand that such contradictions⁶⁸ could have devastating effects on a child’s ethnic identity development and psychological well being. A child residing in the North, on the other hand, may embrace the concept that “America as the land of the free” differently.

Tools for Parents

Though parents have a declining influence in the socialization of their children, they still play an important role towards the ethnic identity development of their children. Parents should not take ethnic identity as a “given” or for granted, and should play a proactive role. Parents should encourage pride in their own ethnic heritage; while at the same time appreciate the customs and cultures of others. If children have positive role models, a strong sense of self develops, making cultural incorporation a possibility.

⁶⁷ Though this research did not show evidence of regional differences, theoretical discussion in this research has shown that the larger society plays an important role in shaping one’s ethnic identity. As mentioned by Cross (1987), reference group orientations may be different.

⁶⁸ Frantz Fanon (1967) would call this bifurcation.

Directions for Future Research

This research merely served as a “beachhead” in the study of ethnic identity, and should be seen as neither complete nor comprehensive. Future research should include broader geographical regions, like areas along the US-Mexico border. In light of the current immigration controversy, regional differences may bring to the surface issues not found in this study.

Future research should also pay attention to the representations of minorities in computer and video games. Research should move from dolls/action figures to video/computer games, and the media. Inquiry should cover areas like popular video/computer games played, their genres, the portrayal of minorities, and characteristics of caricatures represented in each game. It would be interesting to see if there is a relationship between the caricatures they like and dislike, with their perceptions of different ethnic groups in society.

In terms of the media portrayal and popular culture, inquiry should cover the types of programs and movies watched; the portrayal of heroes and villains, sports heroes, the genre of music they listen to. Popular culture may have a stronger influence on ethnic preference and ethnic identity formation of children than realized.

If this study is a good indication, social scientists can no longer use methods of the past to test ethnic identity of children of the future. Children today appear to mature faster, and show greater social awareness at an earlier age. The fact that children could go against their parent’s beliefs is an indication that parents no longer played a primary role in shaping their beliefs and attitudes. Children see themselves differently compared to their counterparts of the past. They take on a global perspective, and see themselves playing an important part in a multicultural society.

Conclusion

The findings of this research indicate that ethnic identity of children has taken new dimensions in a global society. Children no longer adhered to strict ethnic lines when it came to casting of characters, intelligence, hierarchy in both society and the military and marriage selection. Attitudes of children differed from their parents, indicating generational differences. Mexican American children did not display any evidence of ethnic ambivalence or self-rejection, and had relatively high self-esteem scores. Children were adventurous in experimenting different roles and social relationships, and appeared a lot more liberal compared to their parents.

With this research, I attempted to answer pertinent questions regarding ethnic identity. Instead, I raised more questions. The “smoking gun” that would make a landmark in the study of race relations was sought without success. Contrary to what was expected, the research ventured into uncharted waters, surfacing unexpected treasures, which may prove valuable in the future. Some of unexpected treasures uncovered were as follows:

1. This research showed that racial attitudes of children have changed, and that Mexican American children possessed a strong sense of self and ethnic identity, though a small percentage of the sample showed symptoms of over assimilation.
2. Children showed greater cultural incorporation, with great pride in their own ethnicity and greater appreciation to others than expected.
3. Based on the story construction exercise, children no longer adhered to societal stereotypes when it came to intelligence and the hierarchical nature of society.
4. Children showed greater Ego Fluidity compared to children of the past.
5. Children were aware of social stereotypes as seen in the food and sports selection process, but did not adhere to them.

An alternative theory or explanation, called the social cultural evolution of racial and ethnic attitudes,⁶⁹ evolved during the study and may be the best unexpected treasure found. It.

⁶⁹ This theoretical perspective is by no means complete, and will evolve as time progresses.

explains the change of racial and ethnic attitudes over time, and results that differed drastically from what was originally expected. The theory argues that racial attitudes evolve in stages, and divides post World War II racial attitudes into three phases:

1. Strict ethnic demarcation
2. Transition
3. Ego fluidity⁷⁰



Figure 15. The three phases of the social cultural evolution of racial and ethnic attitudes in post WWII America.

Phase 1

The strict ethnic demarcation stage encompasses racial and ethnic attitudes of the pre-Civil Rights Era. This was a period of high segregation and low integration between ethnic groups. Choice of friends, schools, neighborhoods, and marital partners adhered strictly along racial lines. Deviations from the norms were tabooed and one stood the chance of social admonishment if this was the case.

In terms of racial and ethnic attitudes, it was easy to “pigeonhole” an individual to a category. Using the characterizations of Robert Merton in the essay “Prejudice and the American Creed” (1949), it was easy to categorize Prejudiced Discriminators (Active Bigots),

⁷⁰ The term ego fluidity was coined by William Cross (1987) in his discussion of ethnic identity development. The term maintains Cross’ original meaning, but for the purpose of this theory, it describes a stage in the evolution of racial attitudes.

Unprejudiced Nondiscriminators (All Weathered Liberal), Unprejudiced Discriminators (Fair Weathered Liberals), and Prejudiced Nondiscriminators (Passive Bigots) during the Pre Civil Rights Era.

During this era, a person's prejudice and acts of discrimination were often openly displayed as there were no laws prohibiting blatant discrimination based on race. People were open about their racial attitudes and made no reservations about the position they took. Conservatives, who believed in the status quo, displayed their prejudice and discriminated openly, while those who truly believe in the American Creed are not prejudiced and did not discriminate. Ambivalent individuals remained in the middle range. Unprejudiced discriminators discriminate when it is in their best interest to do so, while Prejudiced Nondiscriminators strain when they adhere to the American creed.

Phase 2

Institutional changes brought about by the Civil Rights Movement ushered in the second phase: transition. With greater integration through desegregation, attitudes of children changed. Extreme ends of Merton's (1947) model Unprejudiced Nondiscriminators⁷¹ (All Weathered Liberal) and Prejudiced Discriminators⁷² (Active Bigots) contract, while categories in the middle Unprejudiced Discriminators (Fair Weathered Liberals) and Prejudiced Nondiscriminators (Passive Bigot) expand.

With the expansion in the middle range, demarcations between the two get blurred and at times overlap. Spencer Tracy's character John Drayton, in the movie *Guess Who's Coming to*

⁷¹ Pete Rose (1997) argues that Unprejudiced Nondiscriminators rarely exist. She (Pete Rose is a woman) found that most generally people fall between the categories Unprejudiced Discriminators (Fair Weathered Liberals) and Prejudiced Nondiscriminators (Passive Bigots).

⁷² This is due to the fact that blatant discrimination is no longer legal and not accepted. Hence, people in this category move to the next Prejudiced Nondiscriminators (Passive Bigots).

Dinner (1967) is an excellent example. Though liberal in his outlook, John Drayton struggles when he learns that his daughter plans to marry a Black man. Throughout the movie he strains, and it was difficult to tell if he was an Unprejudiced Discriminator or Prejudiced Nondiscriminator. It was not until the end of the movie where he makes his feelings clear. He has no problems with the marriage, but worries of the struggles that lay ahead. As the majority of the parents who participated in this research were products of the Post Civil Rights Era, discussion of the various themes that surfaced illustrates this point further.

Prejudiced Nondiscriminators (Passive Bigots)

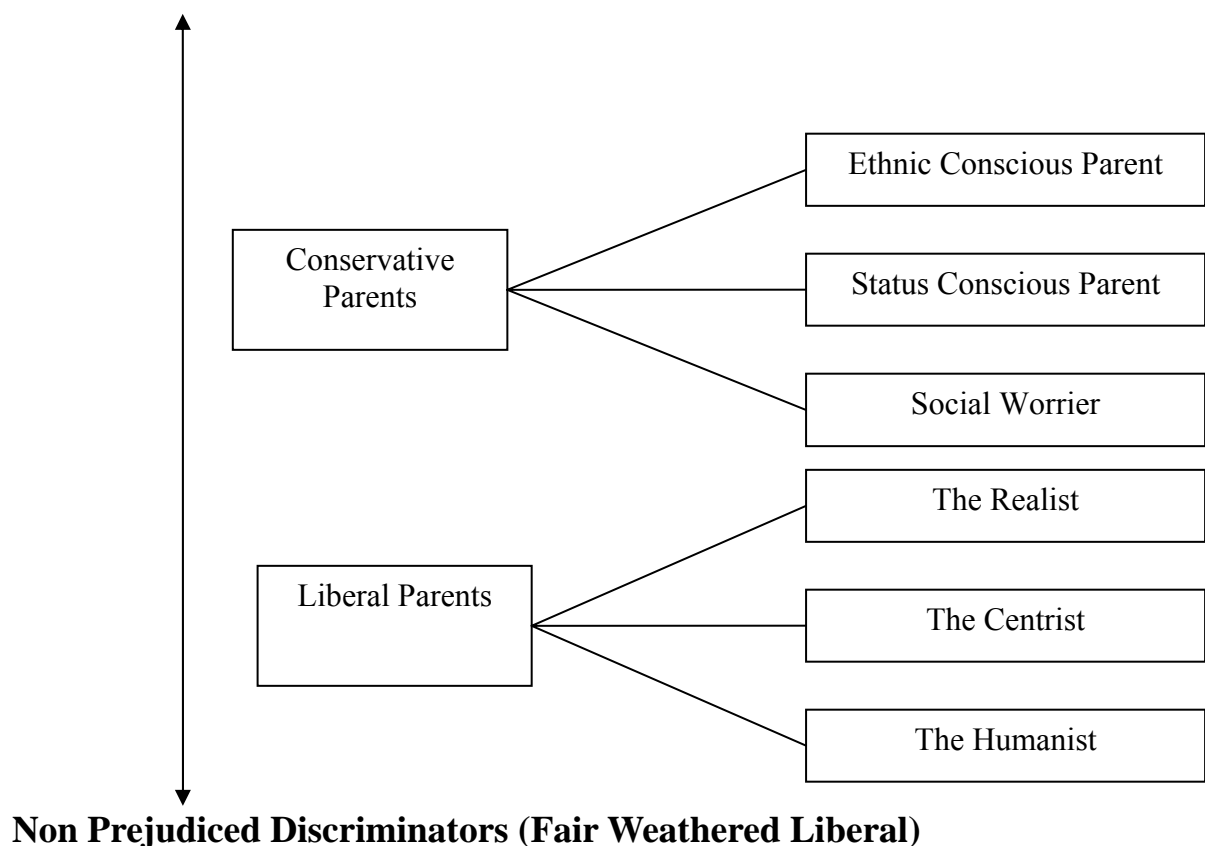


Figure 16. Relationship with conservative and liberal parents in terms of Merton's (1949) relationship between prejudice and discrimination.

As seen in the character John Drayton, it is difficult to distinguish a conservative from liberal as the subtypes tend to overlap, and at times complement one another. The difference between the two only surfaces when it comes to marriage selection, choice of neighborhood, friends, and issues pertaining to their children

The Humanist and Ethnic Conscious Parent fit at the extreme ends of the Nonprejudiced Discriminators (Fair Weathered Liberals) and Prejudiced Nondiscriminators (Passive Bigot) spectrum respectively. The demarcation between the two, however, gets obscured when it comes to the other two subtypes. Features of the Centrist and the Status Conscious Parent are similar. Both worry about how others think and the image inter ethnic relationships might project to others.

The Centrist remains in the “middle” as it is “the right thing to do” in the eyes of others, while the Status Conscious Parent fears losing one’s social stature and acceptance. In the case of the Realist and Social Worrier, both worry over practical reasons and unanticipated variables associated with inter ethnic relationships.

The only characteristic that distinguishes the liberal from the conservative is the fact that liberals are willing to “roll the dice” and take their chances with their children; as seen in Spencer Tracy’s character. They trust the judgment of their children and choose to stay out of the decision making process. Conservative parents, on the other hand, would rather err on the side of caution and oppose inter ethnic relationships as a protective mechanism. Conservative parents strain when they adhere to their children’s decisions, while liberal parents strain when they question or go against their wishes.

Phase 3

Children of Civil Rights and post Civil Rights Era parents, on the other hand, are at the next stage in their racial and ethnic attitudes. In an environment promoting greater multiculturalism, children have evolved to the third stage ego fluidity. Children, at this stage, have greater access to information than their counterparts in the past. Chances of them relocating is greater, and the likelihood in interacting with strangers stronger. They are better equipped⁷³ in dealing with diversity than their parents, and see the world from a global perspective.

With greater interaction with ethnic groups outside one's own, children practice greater ego fluidity and cultural incorporation. Despite the different categorizations, characteristics of each are relatively the same.

The Cultural Convert (White), the Over Assimilated (Mexican American) and the Culturally Unaware (Asian Americans) are all people who were willing to embrace and participate in roles and activities that go beyond their ethnic boundaries. Similarly, the Cultural Adventurer (White), Ethnic Adventurer (Mexican American) and Cultural Enthusiast (Asian) are those willing to experiment and learn about other cultures and/or their own respectively. Finally, the Cultural Conservative (White), Proud Ethnic (Mexican American), and the Culturally Aware (Asian American) all show strong ethnic pride and have a sense of self. Their ethnic pride, however, did not mean rejection of other cultures. Instead, children who fit under this category showed great appreciation to others and admired cultural characteristics that were different.

Tying the parents and children together, the generational change is evident. Among the parents, demarcations between conservative and liberal parents are blurred and at times overlap. In the case of the children, there does not seem to be any demarcation whatsoever. Children's

⁷³ Better equipped through greater interaction, exposure, and a more multicultural curriculum compared with their parents.

attitudes towards race and ethnicity are fluid. Not only do they overlap, children tend to take on and internalize different roles and scenarios as seen in the marriage and sports selection process. This is why children identified themselves with one doll/action figure, found another most attractive, and preferred to play with another.

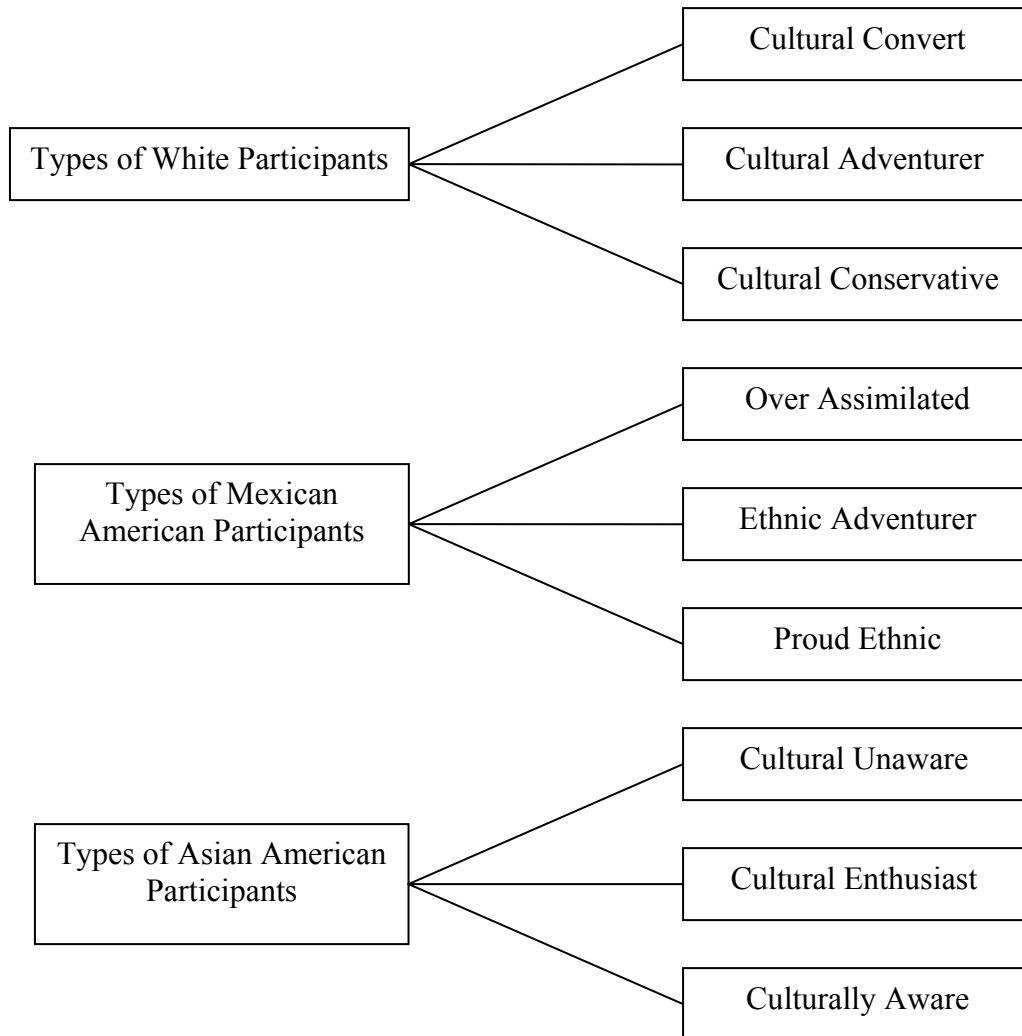


Figure 17. Types of White, Mexican American and Asian American participants.

In summation, the social cultural evolution of racial and ethnic attitudes argues that racial and ethnic attitudes evolve, and children who participated in this research were merely

displaying the final stage of the evolution. To use William Cross' (1987) term, children today have different reference group orientations compared with their counterparts of the past, and have different perspective of the world when it comes to race and ethnicity.

APPENDIX A

DATA GATHERING INSTRUMENTS

Data Gathering Instrument for Male Participants

Story construction: the Ethnic Preference score is used only in the story construction section

The story construction is designed to see if the children reinforce the racial stereotypes of society. The common stereotype of minorities as villains, the demarcation of race in relation to the hierarchical nature of society, and intelligence are designed into the questions. It is interesting to see if children at this reflect the stereotypes of society.

- A. Here are action figures each representing the different races of in America. Imagine that you are making up an adventure story...
1. Which action figure would you choose as the hero (the good guy)?
 2. Which action figure would you choose as the villain (the bad guy)?
 3. Which action figure would you choose as the friend of the hero (the good guy)?
 4. Which action figure would you choose as the friend of the villain (the bad guy)?

Each question will be asked separately one at a time. Participants are allowed to choose each doll only once.

Ethnic Preference Score: _____

Participants will be asked the reasons as to why they made the respective choices.

- B. Here are action figures each representing the different races in America. Imagine that they are in the army. Which doll will you choose as the...
1. The Captain.
 2. The Lieutenant.
 3. The Sergeant.
 4. The Private.

As for this case, the participant will be briefed as to what rank is higher in the hierarchical nature of the military structure.

Each question will be asked separately one at a time. Participants are allowed to choose each doll only once.

Ethnic Preference Score: _____

Participants will be asked the reason as to why the selections were made.

- C. If these action figures were to work in the same place, which of the action figure will you choose as...
1. The person in charge
 2. The person who is second in charge
 3. The person who is third in charge
 4. The person who is fourth in charge

Prior to the question, participants will be briefed as to which position is of higher prestige. Each question will be asked separately one at a time. Participants are allowed to choose each doll only once.

Ethnic Preference Score: _____

D. If these dolls were to take a test in school, which of action figure will score....

1. 100 points
2. 90 points
3. 80 points
4. 70 points

The children will be briefed as to which score is deemed the highest, indicating the best results. Each question will be asked separately one at a time. Participants are allowed to choose each doll only once.

Ethnic Preference Score: _____

The questions are designed to see if children, at this age, reflect the stereotypes of the different ethnic group.

Dating and Marriage Selection:

Here are four dolls and action figures, each representing the different races in America. If they were to get married or date each other, which doll will you select to be married or date this doll or action figure?

The experimenter will pick up an ethnic doll and ask the participant to select the appropriate partner. There may be a possibility that the same doll may be selected to pair with the doll or action figure chosen by the experimenter. What is important here is the explanation as to why the selection was made.

Why did you pick this doll or action figure?

(This question will be asked 4 times for each doll selected by the experimenter)

Stereotype formation:

Questions in this section are designed to test the stereotype formation of children in relation to different ethnic groups. In this case, ethnic foods and sports are used to test stereotype formation. It would be interesting to see at what age children start to form stereotypes of other ethnic groups. This would also possibly test the existence of Allport's Extropunitive and Intropunitive traits. Children are shown dolls that represent the four major racial groups in the US: Whites, Blacks, Asians, and Hispanics. One point is awarded to answers that fit the ethnic stereotype in question. Hence, one point is awarded to the individual who says that the doll representing Asian Americans will order egg rolls in a restaurant. No points will be awarded if the choice does not fit the stereotype in question: hence, the higher the score, the greater the stereotype formation.

1. This action figure represents a White man. Imagine that he is at a restaurant. Which one

of the following would he would he most likely order?

1. Hamburger
2. Egg Roll
3. Fried Chicken
4. Fajitas

Stereotype Formation Score: ____

2. This action figure represents a Black man. Imagine that he is at a restaurant. Which one of the following would he most likely order?

1. Hamburger
2. Egg Roll
3. Fried Chicken
4. Fajitas

Stereotype Formation Score: ____

3. This action figure represents a Hispanic man. Imagine that he is at a restaurant. Which one of the following would he most likely order?

1. Hamburger
2. Egg Roll
3. Fried Chicken
4. Fajitas

Stereotype Formation Score: ____

4. This action figure represents an Asian man. Imagine that he is at a restaurant. Which one of the following would he most likely order?

1. Hamburger
2. Egg Roll
3. Fried Chicken
4. Fajitas

Stereotype Formation Score: ____

5. This action figure represents a White man. Which one of the following sports is he best at?

1. Tennis
2. Basketball
3. Karate
4. Soccer

Stereotype Formation Score: _____

6. This action figure represents a Black man. Which one of the following sports is he best at?

1. Tennis
2. Basketball
3. Karate
4. Soccer

Stereotype Formation Score: _____

7. This action figure represents an Asian man. Which one of the following sports is he best at?

1. Tennis
2. Basketball
3. Karate
4. Soccer

Stereotype Formation Score: _____

8. This action figure represents a Hispanic man. Which one of the following sports is he best at?

1. Tennis
2. Basketball
3. Karate
4. Soccer

Stereotype Formation Score: _____

Total Stereotype Formation Score: _____

Self Esteem Score: The “self esteem score” attempts to measure the level of self-esteem in the child. In this case, “Positive” responses indicate low self-esteem. 1 point will be awarded for one who “strongly agrees” and 4 points will be awarded to those who “strongly disagree” etc. The higher the score, one concludes the higher the self esteem of the child.

1. I am not a good person.

1. Strongly agree
2. Agree
3. Disagree
4. Strongly disagree

Self Esteem Score: _____

2. I feel useless at times.

1. Strongly agree
2. Agree
3. Disagree
4. Strongly disagree

Self Esteem Score: _____

3. I do not have much to be proud of.

1. Strongly agree
2. Agree
3. Disagree
4. Strongly disagree

Self Esteem Score: _____

4. I am not good at all.

1. Strongly agree
2. Agree
3. Disagree
4. Strongly disagree

Self Esteem Score: _____

Total Self Esteem Score: _____

Probing Questions:

Questions in the probing section are to see the child's perception of the different races represented. It would also be interesting to see if the child's perception of the doll would change if asked how attractive each doll is individually, and when compared together with other ethnic groups.

1. This is an action figure represents a White man. Do you think he is...?

1. Very Attractive
2. Attractive
3. Neither attractive or ugly
4. Unattractive
5. Very unattractive

Participants will be asked as to why they made the selection.
Why is the action figure...?

2. This action figure represents an Asian man. Do you think he is...?
 1. Very Attractive
 2. Attractive
 3. Neither attractive or ugly
 4. Unattractive
 5. Very unattractive

Participants will be asked as to why they made the selection.
Why is the action figure...?

3. This action figure represents a Hispanic man. Do you think he is...?
 1. Very Attractive
 2. Attractive
 3. Neither attractive or ugly
 4. Unattractive
 5. Very unattractive

Participants will be asked as to why they made the selection.
Why is the action figure...?

4. This action figure represents a Black man? Do you think he is...?
 1. Very Attractive
 2. Attractive
 3. Neither attractive or ugly
 4. Unattractive
 5. Very unattractive

Participants will be asked as to why they made the selection.
Why is the action figure...?

Action Figure Selection:

Action figures, each representing a different racial group (White, Black, Asian, and Hispanic), are placed on the table. The children will be asked the following questions:

1. Of these action figures placed on the table, which action figure do you like to play with the best?
2. Of all these action figures, which is the most attractive?

3. Of all these action figures, which one best looks like you? The objective of this question is to see if the child is able to identify himself/herself with the action figure that represents his/her ethnicity.

Each question is asked individually and participants can choose the same doll more than once. Attention is paid to the frequency of each doll selected.

Data Gathering Instrument for Female Participants

Story construction:

The story construction is designed to see if the children reinforce the racial stereotypes of minorities. The common stereotype of minorities as villains, the demarcation of race in relation to the hierarchical nature of society, and intelligence are designed into the questions. It is interesting to see if children at this age reflect the societal stereotypes in relation to minorities.

- A. Here are Barbie dolls, each representing the different races of people in America. Imagine you are making up an adventure story...
 1. Which doll would you choose as the heroine (the good person)?
 2. Which doll would you choose as the villainess (the bad person)?
 3. Which doll would you choose as the friend of the heroine (the good person)?
 4. Which doll would you choose as the friend of the villainess (the bad person)?

Participants will be asked as to why they made their respective selections.

Ethnic Preference Score: _____

- B. Here are Barbie dolls, each representing the different races of people in America. If they were working at the same place...
 1. Which doll is the first in charge?
 2. Which doll is second in charge?
 3. Which doll is third in charge?
 4. Which doll is fourth in charge?

Prior to the questions, participants will be briefed as to which position has the higher prestige in society.

Ethnic Preference Score: _____

Each question will be asked separately one at a time. Participants are allowed to choose each doll only once.

- C Here are Barbie dolls, each representing the different races of people in America. Imagine that they are in the army. Which doll will you choose as...

1. The Lieutenant.
2. The Sergeant.
3. The Corporal.
4. The Private.

Participants will be asked as to why they made the respective selections.

Ethnic Preference Score: _____

Each question will be asked separately one at a time. Participants are allowed to choose each doll only once.

D. Here are Barbie dolls, each representing the different races of people in America. If they were to take a test in school, which of the action figures will score....

1. 100 points
2. 90 points
3. 80 points
4. 70 points

Ethnic Preference Score: _____

Total Ethnic Preference Score: _____

Each question will be asked separately one at a time. Participants are allowed to choose each doll only once.

Marriage Selection:

Here are four dolls and four action figures (male action figures and female dolls representing Whites, Blacks, Asians, and Hispanics dressed the same). If they are to get married, which doll or action figure will you select to be married with this doll or action figure?

The experimenter will pick up an ethnic doll and ask the participant to select the appropriate partner. There may be a possibility that the same doll may be selected to pair with the doll or action figure chosen by the experimenter. What is important here is the explanation as to why the selection was made.

Why did you pick this doll/action figure?

(This question will be asked 4 times for each doll selected by the experimenter)

Stereotype formation:

Questions in this section are designed to test the stereotype formation of children in relation to different ethnic groups. In this case ethnic foods and sports are used to test stereotype formation. It would be interesting to see at what age children start to develop stereotypes of other ethnic groups. This would also possibly test the existence of Allport's Extropunitive and Intropunitive traits. Children, in this case, are shown dolls that represent the four major racial groups in the US: European Americans, African Americans, Asian Americans, and Hispanic Americans. One point is awarded to answers that fit the ethnic stereotype in question. Hence, one point is

awarded to the individual who says that the doll representing Asian Americans will order egg rolls in a restaurant. No points will be awarded if the choice does not fit the stereotype in question: hence, the higher the score, the greater the stereotype formation.

1. This Barbie doll represents a White woman. If she was in a restaurant, which of the following is she most likely to order?

1. Hamburger
2. Egg Roll
3. Fried Chicken
4. Fajitas

Stereotype Formation Score: _____

2. This Barbie doll represents a Black woman. If she was in a restaurant, which of the following is she most likely to order?

1. Hamburger
2. Egg Roll
3. Fried Chicken
4. Fajitas

Stereotype Formation Score: _____

3. This Barbie doll represents a Hispanic woman. If she was in a restaurant, which of the following is she most likely to order?

1. Hamburger
2. Egg Roll
3. Fried Chicken
4. Fajitas

Stereotype Formation Score: _____

4. This Barbie doll represents an Asian woman. If she was in a restaurant, which of the following is she most likely to order?

1. Hamburger
2. Egg Roll
3. Fried Chicken
4. Fajitas

Stereotype Formation Score: _____

5. This Barbie doll represents a White woman. Which of the following sports is she best at?

1. Tennis
2. Basketball
3. Karate
4. Soccer

Stereotype Formation Score: ____

6. This Barbie doll represents a Black woman. Which of the following sports is she best at?

1. Tennis
2. Basketball
3. Karate
4. Soccer

Stereotype Formation Score: ____

7. This Barbie doll represents a Hispanic woman. Which of the following sports is she best at?

1. Tennis
2. Basketball
3. Karate
4. Soccer

Stereotype Formation Score: ____

8. This Barbie doll represents an Asian woman. Which of the following sports is she best at?

1. Tennis
2. Basketball
3. Karate
4. Soccer

Stereotype Formation Score: ____

Total Stereotype Formation Score: ____

Self Esteem Scale: The “self esteem scale” attempts to measure the level of self-esteem in the child. In this case, “Positive” responses indicate low self-esteem. 1 point will be awarded for one who “strongly agrees” and 4 points will be awarded to those who “strongly disagree” etc. The higher the score, one can conclude the higher the self esteem of the child.

1. I am not a good person.
1. Strongly agree

2. Agree
3. Disagree
4. Strongly disagree

Self Esteem Score: _____

2. I feel useless at times.

1. Strongly agree
2. Agree
3. Disagree
4. Strongly disagree

Self Esteem Score: _____

3. I do not have much to be proud of.

1. Strongly agree
2. Agree
3. Disagree
4. Strongly disagree

Self Esteem Score: _____

4. I am not good at all.

1. Strongly agree
2. Agree
3. Disagree
4. Strongly disagree

Self Esteem Score: _____

Total Self Esteem Score: _____

Probing questions:

Questions in the probing section are to see the child's perception of the different races represented. This is designed to test if the child's perception of the doll would change if asked how attractive each doll is individually, and when compared together as a group.

1. This doll represents a White woman? How attractive do you think she is?

1. Very Attractive
2. Attractive
3. Neither attractive or ugly

4. Unattractive
5. Very unattractive

Participants will be asked as to why they made the selection.
Why is the doll...?

2. This doll represents an Asian woman? How attractive do you think she is?

1. Very Attractive
2. Attractive
3. Neither attractive or ugly
4. Unattractive
5. Very unattractive

Participants will be asked as to why they made the selection.
Why is the doll...?

3. This doll represents a Hispanic woman? How attractive do you think she is?

1. Very Attractive
2. Attractive
3. Neither attractive or ugly
4. Unattractive
5. Very unattractive

Participants will be asked as to why they made the selection.
Why is the doll...?

4. This doll represents a Black woman? How attractive do you think she is?

1. Very Attractive
2. Attractive
3. Neither attractive or ugly
4. Unattractive
5. Very unattractive

Participants will be asked as to why they made the selection.
Why is the action figure...?

Doll Selection:

Here are dolls, each representing the different races in America. Of these dolls placed on the table, which doll do you like to play with the best?

Which is the most attractive?

Of all these dolls, which dolls best look like you? The objective of this question is to see if the child is able to identify himself/herself with the doll that represents his/her ethnicity.

The children will be asked the reason of their choice.

Each question will be asked individually and participants can choose the same doll more than once. Attention will be paid as to how frequent each doll is selected.

Dating or Marriage Selection:

Here are four dolls and four action figures (male and female action figures/dolls representing Whites, Blacks, Asians, and Hispanics dressed the same). If they were to get married or date each other, which doll will you select to be married or date this doll or action figure?

The experimenter will pick up an ethnic doll and ask the participant to select the appropriate partner. There may be a possibility that the same doll may be selected to pair with the doll or action figure chosen by the experimenter. What is important here is the explanation as to why the selection was made.

Why did you pick this doll/action figure to date or get married with this doll/action figure?

APPENDIX B
PARENTS' SURVEY

Survey Questions for Parents

The following questions are designed to obtain background information. Feel free to skip any question if you feel uncomfortable in providing an answer.

Name of parent filling out the form: _____

Relationship to the child: _____

Name of Child: _____

Age of Child: _____

Ethnicity of the Child

1. Is the child Spanish/Hispanic/Latino? Please circle the appropriate answer.
 - i. No, not Spanish/Hispanic/Latino
 - ii. Yes. Mexican American, Chicano
 - iii. Yes. Puerto Rican
 - iv. Yes. Cuban
 - v. Yes. Other Spanish/Hispanic/Latino (Print group): _____
2. If not Spanish/Hispanic/Latino, please state the ethnicity of child:

3. What ethnic groups are your child's closest friends from?

4. Does your child eat any ethnic foods regularly? (Please circle the appropriate answer)
 - i. Yes
 - ii. No
5. Does your child speak any other language besides English? (Please circle the appropriate answer)
 - i. Yes
 - ii. No
6. If so, how often?

7. What is the ethnic composition in the neighborhood you currently reside in?

Socioeconomic and Demographic characteristics of the parent

1. Are you Spanish/Hispanic/Latino?
 - i. No, not Spanish/Hispanic/Latino
 - ii. Yes. Mexican American, Chicano
 - iii. Yes. Puerto Rican
 - iv. Yes. Cuban
 - v. Yes. Other Spanish/Hispanic/Latino (Print group): _____
2. If not Spanish/Hispanic/Latino, please state your ethnicity: _____
3. What is your current occupation?

4. Are you the sole breadwinner in the family? (Please circle the appropriate answer)
 - i. Yes.
 - ii. No
5. What is your total family income per year? (Add income of both working parents. Please circle to appropriate answer)
 - i. Below \$30,000
 - ii. \$31,000 to \$50,000
 - iii. \$51,000 to \$70,000
 - iv. \$71,000 to \$90,000
 - v. Above \$91,000
6. What is your highest level of education attained? (Please circle the appropriate answer)
 - i. Did not graduate from High School
 - ii. High School Diploma
 - iii. Associate's Degree
 - iv. Bachelor's Degree
 - v. Master's Degree
 - vi. Professional Degree
 - vii. PhD
7. How many years have you lived in your current location?

8. Where did you reside prior to your current location?

9. Are any members of your family recent immigrants? Please specify:

-
-
10. If so, how many years they been in the United States?

11. Are there extended members of your family living in the same household? (Please circle the appropriate answer)
- i. Yes
ii. No
12. If yes, please specify: _____

Boundary making and Ethnic Identity

1. Are there any ethnic festivals, holidays, religion, and occasions do you celebrate in a special way? If you do so, please specify what they are:

2. Do you speak a language other than English at home? If so, how much is spoken, where, by whom, and to whom? Please specify:

3. Are ethnic foods eaten in your household regularly?

4. Do you speak any language other than English at home while growing up? If so, how much was spoken and by whom?

5. What was the most common ethnicity in the neighborhood you grew up in?

-
-
-
6. Do you consider yourself a member of an ethnic group?
-
-
-
7. Was it important for you or your parents to date someone outside your ethnic group while growing up?
-
-
-
8. Did you go out with someone outside your own ethnic group?
-
-
-
9. How about someone in your ethnic group?
-
-
-
10. Did any members of your immediate and/or extended family marry outside your ethnic group?
-
-
-
11. How did the rest of the family receive this?
-
-
-
12. How were the people treated?
-
-
-

-
-
13. Do you prefer your children to marry within their ethnicity, religion, or race? Why?

14. What is the major ethnic group in the community you currently live in?

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